José Ramón Belda Medina

LANGUAGES OF DISCOVERY: A COMPARATIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOLOGÍA INGLESA
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Foreword

In Historical Comparative Study of English and Spanish after the Discovery of America, Dr. José R. Belda draws a detailed, rigorous comparison between English and Spanish after the discovery of America.

Dr. Belda's analysis is rich and multidisciplinary, since it focuses on a wide range of relevant aspects that not only have to do with linguistics but also relate to society, geography, history and politics.

The study has as its first aim to show the reader what the historical, social and political context was like at the time and how that context influenced both English and Spanish. In this respect, Dr. Belda refers to concepts such as those of barbarism and Americanism, which have traditionally been associated with the American varieties of English and Spanish, and describes the life of these two languages in the American continent, which clearly reveals that they became increasingly separated from the standard language spoken in the metropolis or mother country (British English and Iberian Peninsula Spanish, respectively).

Regarding social context, Dr. Belda provides the reader with an overview of the best known theories about the provenance of the earliest English and Spanish settlers in America, which allows him to dwell on the consequences that social and geographical origin (reflected, above all, in the presence of dialectalisms and regionalisms) had for the later evolution of both languages.

A particularly significant area in Dr. Belda's study is that dedicated to the role played by vocabulary, and more broadly speaking, by word-formation, in the naming of objects, animals, natural sceneries, geographical accidents, etc., which were in most cases completely unknown to the newly-arrived European settlers. Mechanisms like composition and derivation are widely exemplified, and a special emphasis is laid on the loanwords that came into the American English and Spanish varieties from both local Amerindian languages and other European languages such as French, Dutch, German and Portuguese, among others.

Finally, Dr. Belda guides readers on a tour in which they become witnesses of the evolution of two important semantic fields in the English and Spanish of America, namely toponymy and crossbreeding vocabulary. In this respect, a thorough description is made of the designation patterns that were most often applied in these two linguistic contexts.

In short, Dr. Belda's study represents a very significant contribution to the field of Comparative Historical Linguistics. It must be remembered that this kind of studies have so far been one-sided, i.e., they have always taken an exclusively English-based or Spanish-based perspective. Instead, Dr. Belda's analysis manages to bring together both perspectives, thanks to which, and using a consistent technique of comparison and contrast, he succeeds in giving readers an extremely interesting historical, social and linguistic recreation of the fascinating process of discovery and invention of a new continent through the eyes and the language of its English and Spanish settlers.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Objectives

Many studies have been published about the period of time when Spanish and English conquerors and settlers traveled among others to America, the Indies or the New World, carrying with them their own respective Indoeuropean languages. Most of them came to light during the years previous to 1992, as a remembrance to that historical feat some five hundred years earlier. Unfortunately, none of them tried to correlate the findings of that multiple encounter -linguistic, social, cultural- on both sides, Spanish and English. Some years after this worldwide celebration, the interest manifested by these studies has somehow faded away. Consequently, the amount of studies published after that important year has been comparatively much smaller than that appeared years before, but those who manifested a profound interest in this historical, as well as linguistic aspect, continued studying this far-reaching and complex process.

All these numerous studies were made taking into account just one side -either English or Spanish- of this *multifaceted* problem. Thus, many linguists dealing with this aspect of the history of our language tended to compare the situation of Spanish in America with the disintegration of Latin in the Roman Empire long time before. Rufino José Cuervo, Lapesa, Henríquez Ureña, among several other linguists made use of that old comparison between Spanish and Latin. As a consequence, the question concerning the future of Spanish in the world was largely debated from this old comparative perspective.

But what happened to *both* languages, Spanish and English, after the discovery? How did they incorporate this magnificent finding at the Renaissance time? What *sociolinguistic* aspects did this finding arise in the consciousness of native speakers on both sides of the ocean? And have they been completely assimilated by the old continent? Most of the studies made about this event were based on a *Historical Linguistic* perspective, first, or on a *Structuralist* approach, some time later. As a result of this, our libraries were positively enlarged by several descriptive works dealing with native Indian languages.[1] But what was the result of this particular process from a *Sociolinguistic* point of view?.

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[1] Although the linguistic term currently used is *Native American languages,* we prefer in this study the original misnomer given by Columbus to the them -Indian- and to their languages -Indian languages- for comparative reasons: Spanish vs. English.

Generally, most native speakers of contemporary English and Spanish in Europe feel proud when considering that they speak a language used by several hundred million people around the world. Thus, most of them show satisfaction about belonging to one of the most widely spread languages on earth and their attitude towards other non-European English and Spanish linguistic *variations* is also very similar. They manifest a common feeling of displeasure when considering that they no longer owe an allegedly historical *copyright* of their own language, *id est*, that they are not alone and, therefore, that they have to share the way of speaking *their own language* with many other linguistic variations in the world.

On the one hand, few English and Spanish common speakers on the old continent are nowadays prepared to admit that their language, as spoken on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, is actually as "correct" -for this is the word most widely used- as their own. On the other, some Americans think that British people speak a kind of old-fashioned tongue, with no interest in the world except for the fact that Americans are nowadays the first world power and, consequently, the current linguistic spread is partly due to them. As a matter of fact, they put together *language* and *politics* as British used to do with their former empire, and as Spaniards and all the rest of Western European countries did in the past. Linguists know that this association actually occurs very frequently.

I still remember the words uttered by an American friend working at the United Nations in New York when he mentioned, as a joke, that some of his American colleagues working there considered 'England' (a historically-deeply-based-diminished *metonymy* for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) as a 'used-to-be-country' whose citizens despised Americans on the grounds of their *rudeness* and their way of speaking, but who never admitted that real power -we need to assume linguistic also- is nowadays held by "America" (a historically-deeply-based-enlarged *metonymy* for the United States of America).[2] Consequently, a native speaker from England will accurately feel that his/her is the most widely used international language, although this English speaker will also support the idea that

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[2] Both names, *England* and *America*, used in reference to the United Kingdom and the United States respectively, are closely connected to the problem that we will deal with in the following chapters. But it is important to notice now this difference between both countries, their names as well as their common linguistic attitudes. Whereas English speakers very easily assume that England is the most important part of the whole country, whose complete name is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the citizens of the United States use the name America in order to refer to their own country. Thus, there is a meaningful difference in their linguistic attitudes. On the one hand, England represents one part of the whole United Kingdom despite the fact that the final name for the language was *English* -never *British*-. Thus they *reduce* the geographical extent for the designation of their official language. On the other, U.S. citizens call themselves Americans and often call their language *American English*, though it is the name for the whole American continent (including Canada, that also speaks English). Thus they *enlarge* their geographical scope for referring to their linguistic variation, precisely the opposite to the English people.

"British English" -whatever this means- is the most 'correct' form among the several international English variations spoken in the world.

A similar case occurs concerning Spanish. Spain is no longer the first Spanish speaking country in the world on the grounds of its population. Mexico is now by large the most populated Spanish speaking country on the planet, and several others, such as Colombia or even the officially-linguistically-undefined United States, are yearly growing at a pace that will soon outnumber the total population of Spanish speakers on the Iberian peninsula. In this respect, it is important to remember that Spain has one of the lowest birth rates in the world. As it occurs with speakers of the English language, many Spanish citizens feel explicitly proud of speaking one of the most widely used languages in the world, especially when they compare it with other European languages such as French, German, Italian, etc. However, Spaniards are prone to manifest the same sort of *unpleasant* feeling, as the British, concerning the linguistic variations of American Spanish. Many Spanish citizens feel that they belong once again to the country which holds the linguistic 'copyright' and that their linguistic variation -or 'the true Castilian', as spoken in Old Castile- is more "correct" than any other variation of American Spanish, not to mention linguistic diversity and its linguistic implications in other regions at home.

Obviously, there are several overstatements in some of these opinions, but the impression remains among native speakers that the European countries still hold that previously alluded 'copyright' concerning linguistic variations of the same language.[3] For this reason, we should ask ourselves: What has changed or, alternatively, what has not changed concerning our linguistic attitudes to all different variations in the course of time? Have our linguistic attitudes towards the different American varieties been always the same? How were these variations viewed right after the discovery from a Sociolinguistic perspective? Do we share our 'linguistic feelings' with our forefathers?

We can find an answer to most of these questions if we study some of the similarities and differences in the contact between the Spanish and English languages with the natives during and after the conquest and we compare some of the problems that such a process caused in the last five centuries, taking as a good support the abundant, but still insufficient, information published in the last decade. For this purpose, we need to adopt a *contrastive methodology*. As we will see in the following chapters, it is not surprising to find that both languages underwent very similar processes during the Discovery of America.

In fact, the Spanish and English languages had undergone by the time they arrived in America a constant process of change throughout their

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[3] There are still many schools of foreign languages making good -commercial- use of this linguistic attitude, and anouncing themselves as the place where students can learn the "authentic" English or the "true" Spanish. In fact, U.S. students, although being aware of the greater importance of 'American' Spanish in their own country, travel every year to Spain for this -and other political and social- reasons.

histories that somehow enabled them to face such a tremendous *challenge*. Many linguistic aspects have taken part in that process: first language contacts, borrowing, pidgin and creoles. It is not our aim here to analyze again those particular changes, but it is to compare some of the aspects common or uncommon to both languages and to review and discuss the sociolinguistic consequences that this process had on both sides: what is an *Americanism* in English and Spanish? What does *the American language* mean? How and when were these labels coined? How did social factors influence the history of both languages on that continent? What is the importance of defining a so-much-disputed *regional* or *social* background for the early settlers in both languages? These will be some of the subjects we will be dealing with in the following pages.

1.2. Some comparative examples

There were many historical linguistic parallelisms between English and Spanish during and after the Discovery of America. Some of these similarities and differences are a good reason for this comparative analysis from a Sociolinguistic perspective. Here are some brief examples of how close in nature were the problems of this process for both languages:

1. linguistic unawareness made the first travellers believe that very few languages were spoken on the continent, and consequently, that it was possible to communicate with most of the Indians they found on their way by means of the *first* language they encountered. Obviously, this was a result of their justifiably geographical naïvity about the limits of the territory, since it was common in Spanish and English chronicles and documents of the time to manifest frustration with the unlimited number of languages found.[4] Columbus (1986: 87) expressed this idea at the beginning of his voyages on many occasions, e.g.:

> "Toda la lengua también es *una* y todos amigos." *Jueves, 1 de noviembre* (Colón 1986: 87)[5]

> "*estas mugeres* mucho enseñarán a los nuestros su lengua, la cual es *toda una* en todas estas islas de India, y todos se entienden y todas las andan con sus almadías, lo que no han en Guinea, adonde es mill

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[4] A. Marckwartd (1980) affirms that there were approximantely one million Indians only in the US between the 15th and the 16th centuries and around 350 languages belonging to some 25 families. On the Spanish side, R. Lapesa (1988: 541) also calls attention on the great number of Amerindian languages spoken in the new territory, which comprised approximately 173 linguistic groups only in South America

[5] All quotations from Columbus included in this book come from the Spanish version of his voyages, cited as Colón, C. (1986) in the Bibliography.

maneras de lenguas que la una no entiende la otra." *Lunes, 12 de noviembre.* Colón (1986: 95-96)[6]

But the same Columbus noticed some time later his mistake, after expressing many times his frustration at his unsuccessful desire for *"aver lengua"*, i.e. communicating with the Indians, as a result of their great linguistic diversity:

"Llamava al oro "tuob" y *no entendía* por "canoa", como le llaman en la primera parte de la isla, ni por "noçay", como lo nombravan en San Salvador y en las otras islas." *Sábado, 12 de enero.* Colón (1986: 171)[7]

2. As a consequence of this linguistic ignorance, the greatest Indian influence on English and Spanish came from the *first Indians* encountered by the European travelers: the Arawakan language from Hispaniola island influenced the Spanish language while the Algonquian languages from the Northern borders influenced English.[8]

3. At first, there was a constant opposition towards the Indian languages. They were labeled as *barbarous* at first by the Europeans. But this term, *barbarous*, as we will see later in chapter 2, had a long history on the old continent and several linguistic implications. In fact, it had been previously applied on many other occasions to the same languages spoken now by those *civilized* European adventurers.

4. The regional and social origins of those early settlers has been a controversial matter for a long time. On the one hand, it is commonly believed that the first Spanish colonists to travel to the West Indies came mostly from *Southern* Spain -Andalusia- and belonged to the *lower* classes. As a consequence, the Southern Spanish dialect spoken by Andalusians at that time became widely spread on the continent, hence, as some try to explain it, the similarities often attested by people between this particular dialect and the Spanish spoken in America. On the other hand, some studies have been

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[6] The name 'Guinea' was loosely applied at that time to those Western African territories where European travellers used to capture slaves in order to trade with them in Europe and America, not just with the African country as we know it nowadays.

[7] Columbus wrote during his last Voyage: "Los pueblos, bien que sean espesos, cada uno tiene diferençiada lengua, y es en tanto que no se entienden los unos con los otros más que nos con los de Aravia." But his insistence on the idea of a native linguistic unity still remained long after this comment, as manifested in later comments like this one: "Yo creo que esto sea en esta gente salvaje de la costa de la mar, mas no en la tierra adentro" (Colón 1986: 291-292).

[8] Marckwardt (1980: 110) provides a list of fifty-two words from Indian origin and declares that "approximately three-quarters have been derived from one or another of the Algonquian languages.[...]This overwhelming influence of the Algonquian may be explained in part by the fact that these languages were the first to be encountered by the white men as they settled on the Atlantic coast."

made about the origin of the first Englishmen to settle on the Northeast coast of America and there seems to be an agreement about the abundance of *Southeastern* English colonists -particularly from East Anglia-, also from the *lower* classes, among the first settlers. However, some controversy has arisen about the specific regions which primarily intervened during the first years.

5. American English as well as American Spanish are considered to be nowadays very *uniform* languages as compared to their European counterparts, but they have also been sometimes accused of containing many more *archaisms* and *vulgarisms* than the European varieties. The linguistic result was that both American varieties have been traditionally described as more 'archaic' and 'vulgar' than their European counterparts. This was the seed for some of the modern linguistic attitudes of native speakers in Europe since both labels, as we will see in chapters 2 and 4, had some clear Sociolinguistic implications.[9]

These will be some of the subjects that we are going to deal with from a *contrastive* point of view. But before starting with our analysis, we must mention some of the many social and linguistic differences that existed between English and Spanish at the time of the Discovery:

1. As very often attested, Spanish found in its expansion *major languages* and much more advanced cultures than English did: the Aztec empire, the Mayan empire, etc. John T. Paske (1967: 4) magnificently expressed it when he wrote:

> "French and English settlers encountered relatively small populations of Indians with very primitive cultures, but the Spanish *conquistadores* and their progeny faced the highly developed Aztecs (Mexicas), Mayas, Chibchas and Incas, with their immensely complex social, economic, political, and religious institutions."[10]

2. English settlement was initially based on *religious* and *comercial* reasons, in contrast with the Spanish conquerors, who made of America a *national venture* from the very beginning. It was a national adventure based

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[9] It has been already mentioned the feeling of rudeness manifested by some modern English speakers in Britain towards Americans. In fact, this notion of 'rudeness' is deeply related to the concept of 'barbarous', which was present among the early travellers from the very beginning. We will see this association between both concepts in chapter 2.

[10] This author points out the difficulties found by the Spanish settlers with these words: "For Spanish America, geography was not as kind. Deserts, mountains and dense jungle isolated one section of the empire from another, made administration difficult, and inhibited movement. In fact, the ulter vastness of Spanish America distinguished it from its French and English counterparts."

on commercial and religious interests but also on political reasons.[11] These had several consequences for the Spanish language, as we will see in chapter 4. As R. Bailey (1991: 62) manifested in a very interesting study, the first English travellers to America 'were not colonists but fisherfolk who paid seasonal visits.'[12]

3. The spread of Spanish settlers on the continent was much more extensive and far-reaching than the earlier settlements made by the English colonists along the Eastern coastline and its relatively later westward expansion. However, *both* European expansions on the new continent -Spanish earlier and English later- were partly fostered by economic reasons, mainly gold.

4. The mixing between Spanish and Indian races gave way to an extended crossbreeding, resulting in a rich vocabulary related to it in Spanish -*zambo, mulato, mestizo*, etc- as opposed to the scarce intercourse between the earlier English settlers and American natives. We will explore some of the reasons for it and the consequences on English and Spanish in chapter 6.

5. English colonists had to *share* the Northern part of America with French, Dutch and some Spanish settlers. Spanish colonists maintained their *supremacy* over most of the territory occupied by them. The time of arrival and the awareness of a national enterprise were key factors in this respect. As a result, English adopted many more *loanwords* from other European languages than Spanish during the following years after the settlement. We will see some examples for this difference between both languages in chapter 5.

All these differences are introductory statements of the possibilities for such a comparative analysis. Consequently, there is a great need to do research on some aspects of this linguistic process from a *contrastive* point of view. This might help us better understand how some of the currently most widely used languages in the world faced that formidable expansion, and where the reasons are for certain *attitudes* between different linguistic variations commonly manifested by modern speakers.

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[11] J. Te Paske. (1967: 30-32) wrote that "The year 1492 might have marked Spain's awakening to a new reality; instead, it marked the coming of a new dream, a new utopia." In contrast with Spanish, on the English side "colonization was carried on by private or semiprivate corporations, modeled after earlier trading enterprises, which gave impetus to expansion."

[12] R.W. Bailey (1991: 62) holds the opinion that "the circumstances of English language contact do not support this *romantic* notion of linguistic accomodation." Notice the word 'romantic' here. This is an important declaration by an American scholar since otherAmerican scholars have supported that *romantic* notion of linguistic contact, as we will see in chapter 4. In the same respect, J. Cutler (1994: 106) also refers to this fact when he writes about the English settlers that: "Colonial settlement had begun as a *commercial* venture."

1.3. Methodology

Historically speaking, English and Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries were ready to carry out such a challenge -the Discovery of America-, since they had undergone similar *processes of change* at home before traveling to the American continent. Although both of them are originally Indoeuropean languages, each one sprang from different branches, Romance and Germanic, respectively. However, there are many similarities between them which should make us look back in time in order to find the reasons for this comparative study.

In this respect, both languages -English and Spanish- contain an originally varied and culturally diverse corpus of linguistic components which helped them to cope with the 'invention', rather than 'discovery' of a new world. English had at that time among its components Germanic, Latin and French elements. When the French Language was introduced in England after the Norman Conquest in 1066 as the language of *prestige* together with Latin, English had to adapt itself to the new circumstances. So, English, originally a Germanic Language, became partially *romanized* through French and Latin during this process. Since a word is not just a chain of sounds, but also a bearer of a concept uttered in a certain *context,* English had to widen its perception of things in order to combine its originally Germanic background with the new Romance language and *culture.*

The same could be said about Spanish. The Spanish of the 16th century included among its elements some Germanic words -Visigoths-, but mostly Latin and Greek. However, when the different tribes of Arabs overran the Iberian peninsula since 711 and settled there, they carried with them a new way of life, a new *modus vivendi*, which had to be partially assimilated by the conquered people through their language.

The fact that both languages -Spanish and English- underwent such originally different but parallel historical changes enabled them to develop some *linguistic devices* in order to integrate all those diverse elements: borrowings, semantic changes, metaphoric descriptions, comparisons, rhetorical allusions, synonyms, paraphrases, etc.[13] Therefore, when the first Spanish and English travelers arrived in America they already had at their disposal all those lexical resources previously employed in order to describe and designate a linguistically and culturally unknown reality.[14] It is obvious that not all these lexical resources were useful on every occasion and that most of them

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[13] T. Buesa Oliver (1965: 14) states about the adoption of foreign words in Spanish that "*el problema no es nuevo, ya Alfonso X utilizó recursos similares: aclaración perifrástica, traducción directa.*" We will compare some of those resources used by English and Spanish settlers in chapter 5.

[14] J. Te Paske (1967: 34) affirms about this subject that "there were nevertheless historical and foreign precedents that seem to have colored English thought. The Roman and the Scandinavian conquests of Britain, not to speak of the Norman conquest, furnished examples."

did not satisfy at all the requirements of such an unparalleled challenge. Hence the opinions made by many linguists and writers stating that America still remained, long after its discovery, a whole continent to be fully incorporated by mankind. In this respect, the famous writer Uslar Pietri expressed this idea very accurately when he affirms that "a portion of land which spreads from the extreme north to the extreme south on earth, with all the contrasts that it means, cannot be simplistically discovered in a brief period of time."[15] The same idea has been recently manifested by many other linguists.[16] Even some of the earliest and more educated travelers and chroniclers seemed to have foreseen the magnitude of this process, as exemplified by the Spanish chronicler Fernández de Oviedo (1988: 4) when he wrote that "materia es ésta en que mi edad e diligencia, por la grandeza del objeto e sus circunstancias, no podrán bastar a su perfecta definición, por mi insuficiente estilo e brevedad de mis dias." This may be the reason why Tzvetan Todorov characterized the discovery of America in terms of its radical difference both from any prior history and from any other discovery. For this linguist, America implied an encounter with that which was prior to knowledge, prior to a *named* reality.

On the whole, we need to consider here that this encounter between European and Amerindian languages in the 16th century was quite a disproportionate one since the process of changes in their respective histories had been quite disparate until that time.[17]

Traditionally, linguists used to explain some of these events where two or more languages came into contact through Historical Linguistics. However, successful achievements in the field of Sociolinguistics remind us of the different nature of language and its changes depending not only on time, as diachronic Linguistics tended to assume, but on man as a *social being* and on his *social interaction* with other men. Hence, we notice that many other intervening factors took place in the process: for instance, *social* and *regional* background provided a good source of analysis for those in charge of doing

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[15] W. Franklin (1979: 3) refers to the same fact when he mentions that "the struggle to include New World phenomena within the order of European knowledge, and to so by naming them, remained at the heart of the form well into the 19th century."

[16] According to T. Buesa Oliver and J.M. Enguita Utrillla (1992: 16) "la adaptación del fondo léxico patrimonial ante el Nuevo Mundo, inciada en los primeros momentos del descubrimiento, no ha cesado todavía, como pone de manifiesto modernos neologismos conceptuales y de forma." Similarly, W. Franklin (1979: 17) confirmed this idea for the English side: " The record of the discovery of America by Europe- or, better yet, the *discovering* of America- is a long chronicle of blunted awareness, of slow recognition, of crucial facts never adequately understood."

[17] In this respect, M.H. Dohan (1974: 116) alludes to this fact when she writes that "The American Indian languages, at the time of English colonization, were at a stage passed through by Indoeuropean languages in ancient times, when a great number of languages were confined each to a limited geographical area and small population. Wide distribution of a few major languages has come relatively late in man's cultural history."

research on the origin of the first settlers and how this influenced the ultimate development of their language. So, we should ask ourselves to what extent the speech of modern American Spanish and American English could be traced back to the regional origins of those first adventurers, and which region or regions, if any, intervened primarily in this process?

Consequently, we need to consider this *social aspect* of the human language in our analysis of this linguistic process. For this reason, we have to emphasize the necessity to remember the following principles throughout this work:

1. The previously declared necessity to consider several sociolinguistic aspects besides linguistic material *strictu sensu* for this study. Uriel Weinreich (1968: 111) already alluded to the need for this wide conception when considering languages in contact. This scholar declared that there was a "need for a broad approach" to this problem. More recently, several linguists such as Scott and Machan (1992: 3-28) have proposed to widen the scope upon which we try to describe some linguistic features in the historical paradigm and to avoid a mechanistically-oriented perspective, combining what some of them have called *'internal history'* and *'external history'*.

2. Similarly, we shall pay attention to the *lexical changes* produced when two languages come into contact, avoiding some historical *bias* such as considering *change* a synonym of *corruption*. This perspective, although now widely abandoned, has impaired some of the grammars and even linguistic works in charge of studying certain aspects of the histories of a language.[18] Several theories have been proposed about the causes of language change. The most traditional ones considered it as a result of the linguistic influence of the *substratum* and *adstratum*, but it has been often stated that most influences of the *substratum* of a language B on a certain language A can be explained by a previous situation of *adstratum* of A and B. Consequently, these arguments are not self-explanatory for some lexical changes. *Social and cultural contexts* are important elements to take into consideration since some linguistic changes are sometimes preceded and/or followed by a *social* change which involves a long time of adaptation, as we will see in chapter 5.

A simple contact between two or more speakers of different languages does not elicit an *immediate* change or some kind of borrowing as a result. For this change to take place, a previous *understanding* of the language by the speakers whose speech is somehow modified and a certain *motivation* for the ultimate loanword -prestige, etc- is necessary. This might explain in part why certain changes took such a *long* time. For instance, Indian and European languages were *too* different to produce *soon* such a high number

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[18] Núñez (1993 : 9) refers to this deeply rooted prejudice against change in Spanish when he mentions that "Cambio como degeneración; es la idea que subyace a las gramáticas académicas o del "buen uso" y de cuya inutilidad la mejor prueba es la realidad misma del cambio lingüístico."

of borrowings as some linguists seem to have expected. Moreover, most of these changes and borrowings took place long after the 16th century, when there was some *better* knowledge of those languages. So, language changes need some time to become general within the system. That happened especially to Indian borrowings on both European languages.

It is important to consider the previous proposals *together* and to *compare* under this basis what happened to English and Spanish after their encounter with America. This may throw some light on some of the historical reactions experienced by speakers of those languages in the course of time, and it may also help to explain some general features about the contact of two or more languages in the *transfer of a language*. When Weinreich (1970: 91) theorized about the types of 'linguistic and sociocultural congruences' as a result of language contact, he included among many others -such as religion, race, sex or social status- *'indigenousness'*, declaring that the *immigrant* language more than the *indigenous*, seems to be exposed to interference for several reasons:

a. Proper new vocabulary among the immigrants is created by the presence of a new habitat.
b. The inertial resistance to excessive borrowings among the immigrants is undermined by the social and cultural disorientation
c. Because of the lower proportion of women among the immigrants, intermarriage breaks somehow the linguistic continuity.

We will consider all these reasons and compare some Indian borrowings that are present in American Spanish and American English in chapters 4 and 5.

One major problem for this kind of study is the relatively scarce amount of first-hand sociolinguistic material and information which has come up to us. Those first travelers and colonists were much more concerned about *surviving* than about writing an account of the many linguistic struggles they had to face everyday in a new land, far away from everywhere and everything they knew. Some traces can be used: chronicles, letters, declarations and a few more.

A second related problem which is currently being solved is the lack, until quite recently, of scientific linguistic information for this comparative purpose. Few studies had been made describing the different *dialectal* areas and their origins for each region on the continent until very recently. Fortunately, American scholars led the trend in these kind of works some time ago and started compiling the *Dialectal Atlas of the United States and Canada* which provides valuable data for our purposes. However, the same cannot be said for the rest of the continent and there are still many dialectal regions in Latin America that have not been analyzed, but a considerable and steady improvement has also been recently made by several linguists from Spain and Latin America who became fully aware of this necessity and started compiling information for some of these areas.

The last important problem to be mentioned here is the existence of many wrong ideas and *bias* present in some linguistic studies which have

in the course of time. Some of these ideas were common at the time they came to light, but died soon after. However, other ideas persisted long after their appearance and had negative consequences to the extent of misleading some of the research done or even ignoring crucial aspects. Three examples may illustrate these prejudices.

Firstly, the relations between the Spanish and English languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were usually misunderstood by some scholars, that supported their theories in the relatively *scarce* contacts made between both groups of travellers and colonists on the American continent, as compared to other European settlers: English with French or Dutch and Spanish with Portuguese.[19]

However, borrowing the same word takes place from one into another language several times. Thus, what we might take as a French borrowing could actually be a Spanish one or even sometimes an Arabic one.[20] A few American scholars have insisted on the idea that the Spanish influence on English, as well as on some Amerindian languages, has been sometimes *underestimated*, as we will exemplify in chapter 5. This aspect is crucial when we consider the *direct* and *indirect* Indian loanwords in English and some other languages.[21]

Secondly, another wrong idea often present among some scholars is that Spain transplanted in America just its *Medieval* civilization, with its social implications. The apparent reason for this widespread theory was that, by the time the Spanish *conquistadores* arrived in America, the Medieval civilization was still very powerful in Spain. Hence, the Spanish settlers imposed the so-called *"encomienda* culture." But this theory ignores that there were already at the same time some famous Spanish scholars whose studies and translations of several Humanist treatises were the guide for some of those early settlers. Moreover, this was a long process of discover*ing* -or "invention"- rather than discovery, and a consequence of it was that Spain projected on America *many* aspects of its civilization, not only the Medieval

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[19] H.W. Bentley (1932: 22), for instance, stated that the first English-Spanish contacts in America took place in Jamaica and that "contacts of importance[..] did not take place until about 1700", though he recognized later on (1932: 57) that "Lakluyt lived during Shakespeare's time, a period already mentioned as being important for English-Spanish contacts."

[20] John Algeo (1996: 15) refers to this problem about identifying the 'distant' source of a given loanword, particularly among Romance languages. "It is often difficult or impossible to know whether a word entered English from Spanish or one of the other Romance languages [...]. Thus the ultimately Arabic *nadir* was common to many languages of Europe by the late Middle Ages."

[21] In this respect, Ch. Ferguson and S.B. Health (1981: 115) remind us that "the influence of colonial Spanish language and culture on the Native Americans was also greater than is usually recognized. The Indians of the American Southwest had their first contact with European culture through the Spaniards, and their languages all have Spanish loanwords which reflect that contact, especially names for domestic animals and food plants, words relating to political and military administration, and to religion."

projected on America *many* aspects of its civilization, not only the Medieval one.[22] John Te Paske (1967: 2-3) provides himself, apparently without noticing it, both arguments when he writes that "each colonial power imposed feudal or neo-feudal institutions- the Spanish *encomienda*, the French *seigneury*, and the English propriety grant", and later on the same study Te Paske (1967: 8) comments about the *Renaissance* ideals of some of those Spanish settlers:

> "Fray Juan de Zumarraga (1461-1548), first archbishop of Mexico, was a *follower of Erasmus* and familiar with the utopians writings of *Sir Thomas More* [...] Vasco de Quiroga (1470-1565), first bishop of Michoacán, actually established a *replica of Sir Thomas More's Utopia* among the Indian communities of his bishopric."

We need to remember that the notion of "empire" is much more a *Renaissance* ideal than a Medieval one. Obedience to a nobleman in the first case was replaced by loyalty to a Crown in the second, thus America became a 'national enterprise' first for Spain and later for England.[23] Such a national 'enterprise', itself a Renaissance term, as the discovery of America, was not possible during the Medieval age, not until the sixteenth century, when loyalty to a lord and the churchmen was lessened by loyalty to a nation, as the contemporary literature reflected. This step was only possible once English and Spanish had superseded other languages as *national* tongues at their homelands, thus starting a time for an *international* expansion. Examples of it are the struggles between Castilian *vs.* Catalan and Galician and English *vs.* French as the language of prestige, and even more important, English and Spanish *vs.* Latin as scientific and cultural languages, though this process took a longer time.[24]

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[22] M. Pidal (1978: 87) expressed this idea very accurately when stating that "en el soldado y el conquistador de la época se da una combinación entre el ideal renacentista de gloria basado en el mundo clásico greco-romano y el modelo medieval del cruzado y caballero andante."

[23] M.H. Dohan (1974: 81-82) reviewed in an excellent study many new modern concepts which appeared at the Renaissance: "Prior to the sixteenth century, words of patriotism were notably lacking in English speech; even *nation* referred to people or a class rather than to the inhabitants of a geographic or political unit [...] Now, however, the word *national* appeared, as did *patriot, compatriot, fellow countryman,* and *mother country*, the last a term that William Bradford would use touchingly in his letters from Plymouth." A few lines later Dohan affirms magnificently the idea that "pride in language should follow pride in country was inevitable; [...] Richard Mulcaster, Elizabethan champion of English as a proper language of learning, expressed the growing national feeling thus: 'I love Rome, but London better; I favor Italie, but England more; I honor the Latin, but I worship the English'."

[24] Spanish was conformed as a national language a little earlier than English as confirmed by several facts, such as being the first European language to be described on a grammar in imitation to Latin. English obtained the confirmity of this character soon after Spanish and started its formidable international adventure. Bailey states (1991: 63) that "before the end

Obviously, we are not attempting to deny the Medieval aspect imposed by Spain on the new continent in certain matters, but language was the first *Renaissance* concept brought to the New World by the Iberian travelers. Both languages -Spanish first and English later- started their transoceanic adventures once they had already achieved a certain linguistic maturity in order to face this challenge and this happened during the Renaissance time.

Indeed, the fact that Columbus used in his *Diaries* the word 'Spanish', along with 'Castilian', illustrates the idea that the ancient language from Castile had already become the *national* language. Taking into account the histories of the Western European languages, the Renaissance is clearly the time for the international expansion of some of them: Spanish, French, English, etc.[25] However, both names -English and Spanish- were internationally baptized under a very different shaping and this also had some linguistic consequences, as we will see in chapter 2.

Thirdly, another even more unfortunate prejudice widely attested nowadays is the complete *ignorance* of the *black* influence on the American continent. This influence, even if clearly smaller than other ones, was also greater than traditionally stated and some recent studies allowed us to escape from that manichean *dichotomy* between white Europeans and American Indians, usually forgetting this third element present by force in the American experience from the earliest times. The study of this influence on both languages has usually been neglected and it is not until very recently that some scholars, such as M.A. Nazario or J.L. Dillard, have started studying the linguistic importance of this third element on the new continent.

If the attempt made by some linguists to look back at the histories of English and Spanish on the American continent is often frustrating for the previously explained reasons, the historical need for incorporating this third element to the whole *context* is almost an impossible one, since we have to add to the scarcity of traceable writings or testimonies left, the long history of *conscious* forgetfulness. We will comment on some of these linguistic prejudice or ignorance towards this third element in chapter 3.

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of the 16th century, there was little English used abroad and consequently, little direct influence on English from the languages outside Europe." This linguist emphasizes the importance of Raleigh's voyages to Roanoke in what is nowadays North Carolina since it represented "the first extended interaction between English people and aboriginals." A.H. Marckwardt (1980) writes that in 1600 English was the fifth language of the western world after French, German, Spanish and Italian, and occupied the same position in 1750 after French, German, Spanish and Russian. Likewise, J.L. Dillard (1984: 2) holds that "English was not, until the 15th century, if then, socially a vehicle for use abroad."

[25] In this respect, E. Bustos Tovar (1994: 15) affirms that "castellano es voz que viene y mira al pasado medieval; español expresa la nueva dimension universal del idioma." And O. Kovacci (1994) reminds us that there were already a dozen grammars for the teaching of Spanish to foreigners in Europe before the end of the 16th century.

2. Americanism and the American Language

2.1. Americanism: barbarous

The first and most obvious question we need to face is what an *Americanism* is. However simple the answer may seem, the term has a long history of different definitions since its first appearance in a Philadelphian newspaper in 1781 by the Reverend John Witherspoon (1723-94), one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. This 18th century author defined it (1931: 17) as follows:

> "By an Americanism "or *ways of speaking* peculiar to this country" I understand a use of phrases or terms, or a construction of sentences, even among people of rank and education, *different from* the use of the same terms or phrases, or the construction of similar sentences in *Great Britain.*"

Significantly enough, Witherspoon commented after this definition that 'these ways of speaking' do not mean that people using them are 'ignorant', or their discourse 'inelegant'. As the author stated, *Americanism* is a word coined by him in imitation to that of *Scotticism.* From this first definition two important ideas must be inferred since their relevance manifests the reasons for such a label: firstly, Americanism is defined here as a *usage* of an English word different to that of Great Britain; secondly, the age of political turmoil between the mother country and the old colony at which this definition was made is a good answer for the emergence in the 18th century for such a label. In fact, these two ideas are closely related to the terms *barbarous* and *vulgar,* which represented a common linguistic attitude at that time by English as well as Spanish scholars, as we will see.

However, Witherspoon feels the need to declare that such a usage does not imply a "more vulgar" language than that of the motherland. Then, we need to ask ourselves why did he use the words *barbarous* and *vulgar*? By the time this work came to light, many had been the writers and visitors puzzled at some of the words peculiar to those speakers. As Mencken (1937: 3) recalls in his famous book, a certain Francis Moore who went to Georgia in 1735, described Savannah as a place that "stands upon the flat of a hill; the Bank of the River (which they in *barbarous* English call a bluff) is steep, and about forty-five foot perpendicular."

Barbarous was the word used by the first English travelers and colonists in their description of some Indian languages. Hence, the English words peculiar in their *usage* to the descendants of those colonists took over this derogatory label. From a political viewpoint, a growing *American feeling* existed among those English descendants. If their forefathers had previously described the Indian languages as *barbarous*, the same label was now to be applied to English itself, but now in reference to the departing *variation* spoken on the new continent. First they said

"barbarous Indian languages" and now they changed to *"barbarous (American) English"*. Thus the history of language repeated, rejecting the usage that departs from the standard on the same linguistic grounds.

On the other hand, the rejection of a *vulgar*[1] way of speaking was more present now than ever before since America was on the verge of its race for the *political*, and also *linguistic*, declaration of *independence*. This label had been employed long after Witherspoon by linguists and scholars in their definition of the speech brought by the first settlers, as a result of their identification of those early colonists with the *lower* classes. But it was too early to be fully convinced about this linguistic declaration of independence. The English mother was still too powerful in many ways and the same Witherspoon, as quoted by Mencken (1937: 5), manifested on some occasions his own doubts about the previous statement:

> "I have heard in this country, in the senate, at the bar, and from the pulpit, and see daily in dissertations from the press, errors in grammar, improprieties and *vulgarisms* which hardly any person of the same class in point or rank and literature would have fallen into *in Great Britain.*"

Witherspoon considered Americanisms as one of the eight classes of those 'errors, improprieties and *vulgarisms'*. Nevertheless, it is very significant to notice that this author did not include any Indian loanword as an *Americanism* in his description of those many errors, such as the 'different uses of *neither'*, or 'the verb *to notify'*, or 'the expression *fellow countrymen'*. He did not include them, not because he did not consider them as vulgarisms, rather than because he *ignored* them as Americanisms. These ones had to do with changes of meaning of English words rather than with Indian loanwords. As we will see later on, this situation changed considerably in the following since the term *Americanism* originally conveyed a strong feeling of *rejection* or *self-acceptance* depending on the sociopolitical situation.

After Witherspoon made this statement, many authors joined this proposal and provided several lists of *Americanisms* depending on their own definitions. Thus, John Pickering (1816) published the first dictionary of Americanisms, and J. R. Barlett (1859), W.C. Fowler (1848) and many others compiled several glossaries. However, many of those Americanisms were too *heterogenous* as to conform a solid description for a very ambiguous linguistic term. But eventually, Indian loanwords came to be regarded as true Americanisms, somehow displacing the early supremacy of changes of meaning of English words such as *creek* and compounds such as *bullfrog*.

On the other hand, words used by the Africans brought to America were not considered as Americanisms until the 19th century authors such as Fowler in 1848 (under *Negro*) and Bartlett in 1859 (under *Negroisms*). Significantly enough, Mencken (1937: 103) refers to the first loanwords as those 'borrowed bodily from

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[1] The word *'vulgar'* has been one of the main descriptive features attributed to American English as well as to Amerian Spanish, but we will analyze its implicaions more deeply in chapter 4, when we will deal with the regional origins of both languages.

the Indian languages', even if those Indian words had not received much attention from the earliest American settlers and scholars. Indeed, the first Indian loanwords pointed out by Mencken on his very influential book *The American Language* (1937) were Indian words introduced into English via Spanish, not directly. So, Mencken mentioned as examples of early Americanisms Indian sounds that had been previously *adapted* by another Indoeuropean language, Spanish. We will analyze the reasons for this in chapter 5.

Consequently, *Americanism* was apparently coined in imitation of *Scotticism*, which was defined from a *contrastive* perspective with England. However, *Briticism* did not appear until the 1860s. And even considering this label from such a perspective, it would be necessary to describe the meaning of the latter term - *Briticism*- as well as to what extent its appearance was actually *conditioned* by the emergence in extension and importance of a second far-away English-speaking country. Few linguists and authors have used any other term to refer to these peculiarities. *Indianism* is not very common, and scholars such as MacArhur (1995) do not include it, though very recently Ch. Cutler (1994) employed it in a very valuable study about these words.[2]

For all these reasons, *Americanism* was and still remains a very difficult concept to be defined. Not surprisingly, the definition provided by Witherspoon became an axiom for later scholars, who continued defining it as "a word or phrase peculiar to the United States". Noah Webster, for example, followed this definition. But M. Mathews (1931) remembered very accurately that an American word might enter the *English standard* and thus stop to be considered as an Americanism according to that description.

Now that we have briefly explored how the concept of *Americanism* was intermingled on the English side with those of *barbarous* and *vulgar* in the beginning, we will compare this linguistic attitude with its Spanish counterpart. In fact, there is an evident coincidence between the previously analyzed statement made by Witherspoon and the following comment made by Fernández de Oviedo (1479-1557), a Spanish chronicler of the New Indies:

> "Si algunos vocablos extraños e *bárbaros* aquí se hallaren, la causa es la novedad de que se tracta; y no se pongan a la cuenta de mi romance, que en Madrid nascí, y en la casa real me crié, y con gente *noble* he conversado, e algo he leído, para que se sospeche que he leído mi lengua castellana."[3]

There is an explicit parallelism between English and Spanish concerning the linguistic attitude of those travelers as referred to their languages. From Fernandez de Oviedo's statement we may infer three main ideas: firstly, those words are

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[2] In this respect, see Ch. Cutler (1994), Chapter 11: "Indianisms in current English."

[3] Some scholars such as T. Buesa Oliver and J.M. Enguita Utrilla (1992) insist on the abundant use of Americanisms made by this chronicler already in 1535. According to these linguists, only in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* Fernández de Oviedo used nearly four hundred native words, despite the fact that he also labelled those words as *barbarous*.

described as *barbarous*; secondly, the chronicler was born in Madrid and raised in the Royal Palace, i.e., he wished to identify his speech with the linguistic *standard* of the noblemen at that time, since the notion of a *national linguistic standard* was growing in power among the speakers on the old continent; and thirdly, his speech is determined by this standard, so there is no reason for considering his language *vulgar* as a result of using those *barbarous* words. We may also notice his reason for the use of such words, i.e., he needed them because of the "novelty" expressed by them.

After considering the earliest definition of Americanism, we should ask ourselves if the word *creek* -an English noun that *changed its meaning* in America- could be considered as an *Americanism* in the same way as *(rac)coon* -an Indian loanword-. The answer may depend on the definition that we take, but significantly enough, those Indian words, mainly from Algonquian languages, started to be appreciated in American English *after* the War of Secession. In fact, several linguists such as Mencken (1937: 12)[4] alluded to this fact, which has been later proved by Ch. Cutler (1994: 2) on a chart with the evolution of the North American Indian loanwords in English, where it is clearly noticeable how the greatest phase of Indian borrowing corresponds to the period between 1875 and 1900, long after the first contacts, when the Indian population and its cultural influence was much smaller than it had been during the previous centuries.

On the whole, the English language proved to be *less receptive* to Indian borrowings at the earliest stages of its American settlement than usually stated, at least until the War of Secession (a clear indicator of how close lexical borrowings and politics came together) and clearly less receptive to the acceptance of borrowings from Indian languages than Spanish at that time. *Canoa*, an Indian word that entered English as well as other European languages under this spelling via Spanish, later changed in English into *canoe,* had been already accepted into the vocabulary of Spanish very early by the author who wrote the first Vernacular Grammar on a Romance language, Antonio de Nebrija.[5] And as often attested, Columbus introduced in his writings many Indian words such as *ají, bohío, cacique, canoa, guanín, hamaca, tiburón,* etc.

R. W. Bailey (1991) calls attention on this absence of early acceptance towards Indian words by the English language and comments on the fact that most of these native words entered English via other European languages. This author explains this fact by the alleged sense of *racial superiority* of those English voyagers, but we need to consider that other linguistic reasons could also explain this fact, for instance the *later* start of their English adventure as compared to Spain or even France, its lack in the beginning of *national* interest in this continent, or even an absence of

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[4] H.L. Mencken (1937) commented on this that "the period from the gathering of the Revolution to the turn of the century was one of immense activity in the concoction and launching of new Americanisms, and more of them came into the language than at any time between the earliest colonial days and the rush to the West."

[5] In fact, Antonio de Nebrija's *Vocabulario de romance en latín,* published in 1492, and the *Diccionario de Autoridades* that appeared two centuries later (1726-1739) included around 170 American words. For more information on this matter, see C. Hernández (1991).

crossbreeding. It is significant, nonetheless, that Bailey himself (1991: 60-61) states that "the dependence on continental European languages for words from remote places and exotic languages has usually been ignored in the ritual celebrations of the excellence of English."[6]

Therefore, it is not surprising the definition made by those earlier linguists of the word *Americanism* as referred to some "English words" with changes of meaning, or even to loanwords from other European languages, rather than to Indian words used in English. As we will see in chapters 4 and 5, English recurred very often in the 16th and 17th centuries to such linguistic devices as compounding or semantic shifts or even *Anglicized* -or *Americanized*- literal translations of Indian terms, rather than adopting Indian loanwords. So, English was not always that 'omnivorous' tongue as described by some linguists[7], at least not under certain circumstances.

It has been traditionally argued that some of those formerly rejected English Americanisms were nothing but 'ancient' words brought to America by the first colonists and eventually forgotten in the mainland. As a matter of fact, the boundaries between *Americanism(s)* and *archaism(s)* are not always very clear and even the so-called 'good use' proposed by many 19th century English grammars could be a more peculiar feature of American than British English. As we know, *mad* in the American sense of *'angry'* was already used by Middleton and *guess* for *'imagine or believe'*, as it means nowadays in America, was used a long time ago by Shakespeare and Chaucer. Hence, the opinion of M. De Vere (1872: 427) that many Americanisms are actually 'good old English words'.[8]

Concerning Spanish, many of the English-named Americanisms are called *indigenismos*, although the label 'americanismo' appears also very frequently. However, it is important to point out that *americanismo* in Spanish was generally applied to any word created on the new continent, no matter the American country or original language it came from, whereas on the English side linguists tended to restrict the use of Americanisms to words that entered English directly from Indian languages, but not including words that sometimes reached this language via *other* intermediate tongues or using this label as applied just to U.S. Indian loanwords but not to South American Indian loanwords. As we can see, the difference lies on the

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[6] In this respect, R. Bailey (1991) comments significantly that "One of the striking facts about the effect of exploration and colonialism on English is how the late start is mirrored in word borrowing. Many words were first borrowed, adapted, and used in other European languages and from those languages came into English". Bailey points out that the word *tobacco* reached English in 1577, "nearly 50 years after both the word and plant had been introduced into Europe by the Spanish."

[7] M. De Vere (1872) described English as an 'omnivorous' language.

[8] Some scholars have searched for the history of those alleged Americanism. For instance, B. Bryson, (1994) traced back the history of the American expression "neither hide nor hair" in 1857 to Chaucer´s time in 1400 under the form "to be in hide and hair", meaning to be lost or beyond discovery, but this expression faded away for 400 years. Similarly, W.A. Craigie (1927: 199) affirmed that words or expressions which "have been regarded as distinctively American are frequently in common use throughout a number of English countries, though quite unknown to the ordinary or standard English speech."

usage: in Spanish an *Americanism* was mostly understood in reference to Native Indian words such as *canoa, barbacoa, patata* and so forth, whereas earlier British and American linguists used this term in reference to those *English* words whose meaning had changed in the New World. This does not mean that Spanish words did not undergo a similar process of semantic change as a result of that linguistic contact, but the reaction was somehow different, and as a result, the use of those *Indigenisms* -or Indian Americanisms- made by the Spanish colonists was more abundant than in the case of the English settlers.[9]

As in the case of English, some of the alleged Americanisms were ancient Spanish words whose usage had declined or become restricted to some *dialectal* areas in Spain. In research carried out by T. Buesa (1990: 64-65) on those Americanisms, the author traces some of them back to the 13th century Andalusian dialect, such as *agrimona* for a type of plant, *arveja* for 'pea', etc.

In conclusion, the use and notion of the word *Americanism* has greatly changed in Spanish and English throughout time, depending on the *social attitudes* manifested by speakers of both languages on the American continent. In the beginning, *Americanism* was formerly associated to *barbarous* or *vulgar* words. Not surprisingly, *barbarous* had been the same label applied to some *Indian sounds* when the first travelers heard them. Thus *barbarous* was later associated with those words whose meaning, i.e., whose usage, changed depending on the context and which, therefore, did no longer correspond with the European standard. Hence, Americanisms were considered as *barbarous*, the label previously applied to Indian sounds. As a result, many earlier scholars living on the new continent apologized, in English as well as in Spanish, for the use of such Indian words.

However, in the course of time a growing feeling of American self-consciousness made some scholars defend those words -now perceived as 'their own words'- and even use them as an example of a *departing* variation from their mother tongues. Americanism started then to be associated on the English side, not only with English words whose usage was peculiar to America, but also with *Indian loanwords*.

In the case of Spanish, *Americanismo* or *Indigenismo* were generally referred to Indian loanwords from the very beginning, though many semantic changes took place and this label was also used to include them. This conception of Americanisms grew in strength at the same pace as there was a feeling of independence in the American colonies, first in the case of English in the 18th century and later in the case of Spanish from the 19th century onwards. In contrast with it, scholars of both languages rarely included *black* -or Afroamerican- words as a *distinctive* feature of their own identifying linguistic variation. So, in the end, these *departing* variations proved to be on some occasions a good reason for claiming *linguistic independence*, though this never happened as we will analyze in the following paragraphs.

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[9] Some Spanish scholars such as M. Seco and G. Salvador (1994) insisted on the little attention paid to those semantic changes in American Spanish, in contrast with English. However, there are many opinions about the number and importance of Indianisms in Spanish, from those linguists who consider their number very high as H. Ureña and Jiménez Moreno to others who reduce considerably their number, such as M.L. Wagner, or even those who think that this number has been very often exaggerated as Lope Blanch.

2.2. The American Language

A more controversial issue has been the denomination by some scholars of what they called the *American language*. First of all, it is important to note that this declaration has been generally more common to the English than to the Spanish language, whatever their reasons may have been, and that this *wish* for political rather than linguistic distinction appeared at a much earlier stage in American English than in American Spanish.

In this respect, the most famous formulation came from H.L Mencken when he published in 1919 a book entitled *The American Language*, but this idea had already been circulating among some scholars in different degrees from an earlier time. Even Noah Webster, as Cassidy (1971: 53) pinpoints, had called attention upon this -American- need for coining a new language:

> "As an independent nation our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government. Great Britain, whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be *our* standard; for the taste of her writers is already *corrupted*, and her language on the decline [...]. Several circumstances render a *future separation* of the American tongue from the English necessary and unavoidable."[10]

Notice the two arguments provided by Webster in the previous statement: firstly, that the mother tongue is 'corrupted', not surprisingly the same label that early American English received but now from the other side;[11] and secondly, that the *linguistic* need was also, and even more, a *political* need.[12] Thus, Mencken was actually the American *heir* of a long tradition of *linguistic self-consciousness* already initiated with Witherspoon and later followed by Noah Webster, who formed the three most prominent American voices. Witherspoon had to define first what an *Americanism* was, as we have previously seen, and Webster was in charge of *adapting* the spelling of the English language to the 'American peculiarity', although he went further, as we know, even proposing many changes that did not take place. Not surprisingly, spelling is one of the clearest signs of linguistic *distinctiveness*, and even of

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[10] Similar opinions made by the same author are quoted by Cassidy, F. in L. Kerr & R. Alderman (1971). However, this idea was also a result of the need to asociate a *national language* with a recently unified nation in 1789. This is the reason why Webster, as quoted in A. Baugh & T. Cable (1990: 359) explicitly said that a national language "is a band of national union."

[11] As quoted in H.L. Mencken (1937: 4), Samuel Johnson clearly associated Americanism with corruption: "This treatise is written with such an elegance as the subject admits, tho' not without some mixture of the American dialect, a tract [i.e. trace] of corruption to which every language widely diffused must always be exposed."

[12] In this respect, Mencken (1937: 4) provided himself the same reason in his famous book *The American Language*: "and as the Revolution drew to its victorious close there was a widespread tendency to reject English precedent and authority altogether, in language no less than in government."

distinctiveness of the American language than these former Indian landowners? Consequently, the claim for an American language was made after the awareness of its many Americanisms -changes of meaning, of spelling, Indian loanwords-, but those 'Indianisms' -*raccoon, chinquapin, squash*, etc- were not widely valued in the beginning. at least not until the War of Secession.

As we mentioned, there was a strong tendency in early American English to coin new terms using their own English words. R. Mallery (1947: 64) refers to this when he writes that "If no words existed in English to describe adequately certain American animals, for example, it was a simple matter to use two *English* words together and get such new terms as *bullfrog, groundhog, catfish.*"

The absence here, once again, of any reference to other ways of describing the new reality -such as Indianisms- is noteworthy. The reason for this early ignorance lies in the social attitude manifested by those earlier travelers and settlers on both sides. The general tendency of English and Spanish colonists was to consider the languages spoken by the Indians as *barbarous* and *unspeakable.* It is true that some important exceptions were made, but on the whole those positive comments were conditioned by some other social factors. Most of those considerations towards the Indian languages were made as a consequence of certain -political, religious, etc- desire, as we will see in chapter 4. But the two following examples, quoted in B. Bryson (1994: 24) can perfectly illustrate this fact:

> "None of the *savages* standing in the midst, singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, *shouting*, *howling* ... making *noise* like our wolves or devils." [Statement made by George Percy, President of the Council of Virginia after deposing Captain Smith on his "Observation gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony ...]

> "I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more *sweetness* or *greatness*, in accent or emphasis, than theirs." William Penn.

It is worth noticing that the apparent praises paid to Indian languages were made under the same terms: *sweetness, melifluous,* though the scholars who recall them are unable to explain *why* they did not borrow some of those Indian words, often preferring the English-made compounds, or why some other travelers, too often to be an exception, expressed their surprise at such *barbarous* and *vulgar* languages with those *unpronounceable* sounds from a European point of view. As we previously stated, this fact was common to English as well as Spanish. It is true that sometimes the traveler expressed his admiration towards some of those sounds, as Columbus did in his *Diaries*, but we may also find more declarations manifesting the opposite opinion. It is not difficult to imagine how puzzled at the Indian sounds these European settlers had to be on their first encounters with the natives. They were not used to many of the nasalized sounds or consonantal clusters that were very common in some of those languages. Consider, for example, words such as *Anasagunticook, Pagonchaumischaug* that the English settlers may have heard or *huitzilopochtli, tzacutli* for the Spanish travelers. Unfortunately, some scholars forget this fact when trying to provide a very different version, and even the same B. Bryson (1994: 16) may exemplify this case when he naively writes:

> "Despite the difficulties, the first colonists were perennially *fascinated* by the Indian tongues, partly no doubt because they were exotic, but also they had a *beauty* that was irresistible [...] If the early American colonists treated the Indians' languages with respect, they didn't always show such scruples with the Indians themselves."

In the case of Spanish, it is widely accepted by linguists that the Spanish language of the 16th century was greatly influenced by the discovery of America, despite its relatively reduced amount of Indian loanwords. Still, the use of this word was more common than in English and although the process of official acceptance was also very slow, they appeared in Spain at a much earlier time than in England. Many scholars usually refer to this influence with the same expression, i.e., how the Spanish language became *indianized* on the Antilles, which were the first islands encountered by the Spaniards.

There was no Spanish Webster, or if any scholar attempted to change the spelling of the Spanish spoken in America, the attempt was not very successful.[16] Furthermore, there was no successful formulation on the Spanish side for an *American* language. There were some attempts to define an Argentinian language (*lengua argentina*)[17] or a Mexican language (*lengua mexicana*) but not the coinage *lengua americana* since this might lead to some problems about what the American language was and which American country or countries, if any, were supposed to fix the standard for such a label.

The sources for the American English and Spanish are partially based on their own respective histories. Hence, it seemed important to know what *kind of language* was brought over to the new continent by the early settlers on both sides.[18] Again, such an apparently easy question caused a great controversy in the course of time since it was equally determined by certain social attitudes -the need to define a national language/variation of *prestige*-. This was to a certain extent the result of a reaction against previous declarations made by several scholars and linguists on both sides.

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[16] The Colombian writer Gabriel García Marquez recently called for a general reform of the Spanish spelling at the *I Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española*, Zacatecas, Mexico, April, 1997. He proposed to eliminate the letter h, which is a mute sound in Spanish, or to avoid the phonetically irrelevant difference between the letters b and v, etc. These proposals were generally rejected in Spain as well as in America. Still, in contrast with what happend in English, this Colombian writer formulated his idea in reference to *the whole Spanish system* to be applied in all Spanish variations, and not only in order to divide the common spelling used nowadays in Spain and America.

[17] This was the case of Sarmiento who wrote some studies on the 'Argentinian' language, an attempt called by Pidal as "escisión moral" in the absence of a clear "linguistic one" (Pidal, 1978 : 109).

[18] The importance of such a question is manifested by Dohan (1974: 69) when he writes that "Had the first settlers left England earlier or later, had they learned their speechways and their attitudes, linguistic and otherwise, in a different time, our language- like our nation- would be a different thing."

Nowadays, it seems widely accepted that the first English travelers and colonists brought with them the *Elizabethan English*. This stage of the English language is generally regarded as one of the most *innovative* in the history of English. British people at home were hungry for new terms in an attempt to make English a fully recognized language, capable of expressing any simple or complicated matter. It was a linguistic race in favor of English as a literary and scientific language, mainly against Latin, but also against French. Thus many English writers at that period of time embarked on an adventure for coining, translating from ancient sources, or even making up new terms. Some of those abundant *neologisms* were rejected and many of them were considered excessive, particularly in literature. Curiously, it seems that the English people were preparing their own language not only for serving as a *national* model, but also for an eventual journey to many other corners of the world. No other European language is known to have *diverged* so much from its earliest roots as English had, i.e., from a distinguishable language belonging to the *Germanic* group to a romanized tongue in the 16th century in such a brief period of time. There is no parallel on the Spanish side for such a rapid and radical change.

The analysis of the name for the Spanish transferred to America at that time is more complex, *español preclásico*, i.e., *Pre-Classical Spanish*, seems to be the most widely accepted label nowadays, but some important linguists, such as Amado Alonso and Lope Blanch, have expressed their doubts and even disagreement about appropriateness of such a term on the grounds that it implies a *literary*, rather than a linguistic, notion of the language. *Classical Spanish* is then used as the literary *variation* corresponding to the famous Spanish Golden Age with its many laureate poets -Quevedo, Góngora, etc-. Thus some linguists pointed out that it was difficult to name the language after the classical period (post-classical, modern, early modern).

Obviously, "pre-classical" is a name coined after the *Latin* model and applied to a literary stage of the Spanish language. Amado Alonso criticized this label and this criticism had many echoes but the tendency to speak of early American Spanish as identifiable with the Pre-Classical Spanish still persists and is by far the most widely recognized, so we will adopt it in this study.[19]

But our concern here is about the *linguistic* attitude manifested by some of those earlier American speakers regarding their own languages -Spanish and English-. What kind of linguistic consideration was expressed by those earlier colonists and their descendants in comparison to their varieties as spoken in their motherland? Did they use any models? On the whole, the tone of the debate became progressively bitter at the same time as *Americans* were preparing themselves for a stronger self-determination.

As a consequence, some scholars on both sides went further in attempting to defend what kind of language was brought over by the colonists to the New World.

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[19] However, Buesa Oliver and J. Enguita (1992) doubt that the Spanish brought to America by the early colonists was the so-called *Pre-classical Spanish*, since the language brought over had already consolidated its many phonomorphological and lexical features. They state that those travellers did not bring with them a *Pre-classical Spanish* and that this happens as a result of confusing discovery -in 1492- with 'conquest' -which took a longer time-.

Then, the celebration of their transplanted languages by some *American* -Spanish and English- writers and linguists reached its height. Thus, the 'rhetoric' -as Mencken calls it (1937: 127)- overstatement made by James Russel Lowell, when he said that 'our ancestors, unhappily, could bring over no English better than Shakespeare's' is today quite famous. But W.A. Craigie (1927: 2) suggested that the number of the colonists was too small, and they were also 'too unlettered, [as] to bring with them the whole of that marvellous language'.

However, we should ask ourselves why they used this -Shakespeare's- *model* in particular. This was evidently the reaction of some American scholars against the previous derogatory comments on the American English made by some British writers, using exactly the same terms. This can be seen in the following comment made by Captain Hamilton in "Men and Manners in America", as quoted by H.L.Mencken (1937: 24): "I feel it something of a duty to express the natural feeling of an Englishman at finding the language of Shakespeare and Milton thus gratuitously degraded."

It is very significant that they chose the English language used by Shakespeare rather than that of other contemporaries such as Drake or Hakluyt. In fact, Hakluyt died the same year as Shakespeare but knew the American reality much better than the immortal playwright who never set foot on the new continent.

As we have seen before, both varieties on the American continent were described as containing many neologisms. The sixteenth century represents a crucial time for English, Spanish and some other European languages in their attempt to consolidate their scientific and cultural status as opposed to Latin.

However, the incorporation of Indian words into English in America was something different, even if the need seemed to be greater than at home. There was a clear linguistic difference: language innovations at home were generally made by writers, intellectuals and learned people, whereas the required innovations on the new continent had to do with less intellectual, though more vital words, than *democracy*. They had to do with food, animals, farming, etc, i.e., they were related to their everyday life. Those innovations were coined by everybody who traveled there in an attempt to name a new reality from their own experience as native speakers. Never before had the English language been so close to the common speaker than at this time, when people shaped it according to their own needs.[20]

On the Spanish side, the period of innovation had already started in the 15th century with the coining of many new terms taking as a source its mother tongue -Latin-. According to the most widely accepted division of the linguistic periods concerning the history of Spanish, Southern Spanish was the linguistic variety -*norma*- at the time of the Spaniard arrival in America. The Spanish scholar Nebrija was the first European to include an Indian word in a grammar. However, the Castilian model took over the first one as the language of prestige soon after the Discovery of America, first under the *norma Toledana* and later under the one from Madrid, where the Royal Court was finally established.

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[20] For a detailed account of the many new terms coined under the Latin model, see Dohan (1974: 62-68) Chapter 4.

This concern with what linguistic attitudes were manifested by those early settlers towards their own languages on both sides is closely related to the problem of *linguistic uniformity*. Once American scholars had started accepting many of those disputed Americanisms, and once they started becoming aware of their own linguistic peculiarities, the notion of a linguistic independence appeared progressively among some of them. Then the issue of a linguistic separation seemed to be unavoidable. But in the course of time and as a clear reaction against all these proclamations, many were the linguists who supported linguistic *uniformity* between the different varieties. We will deal with this concept below.

A feature commonly attributed by scholars to both varieties, American English and American Spanish, is their *uniformity*.[21] English and Spanish had to coexist with different languages in their homelands before being brought to America. The different conquests in their respective histories took place at an earlier time, long time before the American discovery, and under very different social and historical conditions. Consequently, the different processes of conquer*ing* in Europe happened at a much slower pace than the one on the American continent. This fact helped considerably to the appearance or maintenance of its many varieties and dialects on the old continent.

In general, the alleged *uniformity* of American English and American Spanish poses two different questions. Firstly, what is the sociolinguistic implication of the term *uniform*? Linguistic uniformity is generally regarded today as a synonym of cultural and political stability, but it was not always like that.[22] As a remnant of the past, linguistic diversity took place before the modern concept of political unity.

Secondly, the alleged *uniformity* could be questioned when considering the similarities of some New England features in America with some British English varieties. This fact can be seen even more clearly on the Spanish side, where Andalusian Spanish might appear to some foreign listeners more clearly identifiable to the loosely called *American Spanish*[23] than to other varieties of peninsular Spanish. This was the reason why some famous linguists proposed different divisions for Spanish, sometimes coining terms such as *'transatlantic Spanish'* instead of American Spanish, thus including under this term the Andalusian and Canarian as well as the

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[21] In this respect, J.L. Dillard (1975: 55) recalls the comment made by William Eddis on June 8, 1770: " The language of the immediate descendants of such a promiscuous ancestry is perfectly *uniform*, and unadulterated; nor has it borrowed any provincial, or national accent from its British or foreign parentage."

[22] Bailey (1991: 34) recalls the words uttered by a certain king of Hungary: "For, as the guests come from various regions and provinces, they bring with them various languages and customs, various knowledges and arms. All these adorn the royal court, heighten its splendor, and terrify the haughtiness of foreign powers. For a country unified in language and customs is fragile and weak". On the contrary, the celebrated English poet Johnson associated corruption of a language with an excessive geographical expansion of it. Obviously, he never thought that his own language was to be in time the most widely spread language on earth.

[23] Alvarez Nazario (1982: 91) already expressed the necessity for further research in the "'descripción sistemática' de las muy diversas hablas locales y regionales que integran ese gigantesco mosaico dialectal que es el mal llamado "español de América"."

American variations.[24] For Lope Blanch (1989: 26-28), the main difference between the diverse varieties of Spanish lies in the vocabulary. This linguist believes that there is a greater difference among words in America than in Spain, though he confirms the essential *homogeneity* among the different varieties of the language.

Finally, an interesting problem related to the emergence of different varieties of the same language is the idea of *Spanish* and *English* as names. As previously stated, Columbus himself used the term *Spanish* together with *Castilian* in reference to his learned tongue. Similarly, it is very common nowadays to hear the word *castellano* among Hispanics in reference to their language.

There is not such a possibility in the case of English. We may say *British English* but not the *British language*.[25] It seems clear that English might be coined after the Germanic tribe of the Angles but since England is part of Great Britain, which is politically made up by other lands, the use of English by itself could mislead to the primary association of this language just with England, without including Wales or Scotland, as the British might do. Although we use *American Spanish* we never use *American British,* and similarly we use *British English* as different to other varieties, mainly American English. This might be like saying American Castilian - similar to American English- and Spanish Castilian -for British English-. Internationally speaking, we learn *English*, not British, but we do not learn Castilian, we learn *Spanish*.[26]

A similar problem arises with the term *American English*. We include under the name America a whole continent, but frequently the term *American* is exclusively applied to the people of the United States of America. In fact, there is not a word in English that refers to the citizens of the United States. We say Canadians for people from Canada, but how could we call those of the USA without recurring to 'American' or to such a periphrasis as 'citizens of the USA'?

In contrast, we say in Spanish *Estados Unidos* and *estadounidense*, though *americano* is now becoming quite popular. But the *American language* might be equally used to refer to the Peruvian, Argentinian or Brazilian languages. And if we apply it to the English language on the North American continent, it might also be used for the peculiarities of Canadian English, with its singular terms from French

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[24] The Spanish scholar R. Laspesa (1988: 534) places emphasis on the ambiguity of the name *American Spanish,* since there is not such a variety with completely *homogeneous* linguistic features shared by all Spanish speakers in America. "Cuando decimos 'español de America', pensamos en una modalidad de lenguaje distinta a la del español peninsular, sobre todo del corriente en el Norte y Centro de España. Sin embargo, esa expresión global agrupa matices muy diversos: no es igual el habla cubana que la argentina, ni la de un mejicano o guatemalteco que la de un peruano o chileno."

[25] With the anecdotal exception of Sir Richard Francis, General Director of the British Council, who used this term in the article "Selling English by Pound" , *The Times*, 24 Oct. 1989 as well as the use made in plural, British Languages, in MaCarthur (1995: 157:158).

[26] J. Algeo (1996: 14-15) points out the fact that 'Castilian' was borrrowed several times in the English languages with different meanings. First it was used in 1526 "as a term for a Spanish gold coin". But "In 1796 it was used for a 'native of Castile' and thereafter for 'pertaining to Castile'.

or Indian such as *babiche, gaspereau, tarreau* or *muskeg, saskatoon*. Indeed, *toboggan,* considered itself an Americanism, was borrowed from the Canadian French *tabagan* or *tabaganne*, and these words were taken from the Micmac *tobakun*. M. M Orkin (1971: 89) refers to this misleading concept of "Americanism" when he writes that:

> "Although lexicographers commonly regard them as Americanisms, it would be as accurate to call some of them Canadianisms, or at any rate North Americanisms, for the Algonquin Indians originally lived on the Gatineau River east of Ottawa, later extending their influence over much of Quebec and Ontario."

Some authors coined the term *Canadianism* (1870s), with its parallel *canadianismes* in French, and since then it has been also used by some scholars. A few dictionaries of *Canadianisms* came also to light, especially and by no coincidence with a strong uprise of nationalism in the 1960s. But the notion of an American Language has no equivalent in Canada. One of the reasons could be that the name *American language* as applied to Canadian English might find serious problems, since the Northern neighbors often use British spelling rules when a difference exists between American and British English.

Consequently, it is evident how inconvenient these labels are -*American Language* and *American Spanish*- since they might convey an ambiguous meaning. In conclusion, the American language is a linguistic label exclusively applied to American English with no relevant or strong counterpart on the Spanish side. This term came about as a consequence of a growing feeling for self-determination, not only in politics and society but also in linguistic awareness. However, the name American language, when applied exclusively to the linguistic variation/s used in the United States, faces the problem of putting aside the other major English variation on the same continent -America-, Canadian English.

Despite the fact that Spanish is widely fragmented among many countries on the continent, no successful attempt has ever been made in order to adopt a distinctive spelling different from the mother tongue. But no linguistic feature is unanimously shared -whether *yeísmo* or *seseo* or *voseo*- by all Spanish speaking countries in America. Mexicans use a distinct linguistic variation when compared to Argentinians, and even here it is important to know if one refers to Mexican Spanish as spoken in Yucatán or as in Mexico city, or Argentinian Spanish as spoken in Tucumán or in the Rio de la Plata area. Only few scholars from American nations with good socioeconomic indicators and a considerable population have occasionally claimed for an independent language, mainly Mexico and Argentina. However, their insistence has been considerably smaller than in the case of American English.

Finally, both languages share the lack of historical awareness of a small black influence as a distinctive feature when compared to European English and Spanish. This explicit unawareness will be the central point in the following chapter.

3. Black influence

3.1. Some biased statements

The often frustrating absence of studies on the *early black* influence in American English and Spanish has been previously mentioned. On the whole, Blacks have been by large the linguistic group which has suffered more deeply the lack of any interest from scholars and linguists on both sides. This may be due to two main factors, among others: firstly, the scarcity of reliable data on the influence of this third linguistic element, together with Indoeuropean and Amerindian languages; secondly, the historical bias against this race has been also reflected upon some linguistic studies, particularly with lack of research until very recently on both sides. Arguably, some scholars might doubt that this social bias could seriously affect the trend in the history of linguistic studies, but it is discouraging to testify the appearance from very early times of negative statements about the presence of black people on the new continent.

Some linguists with a well-known reputation have contributed to this historical misconception of America, often projecting some widespread unfortunate ideas by means of their otherwise valuable linguistic studies. The notable Spanish scholar Menéndez Pidal (1978: 86) commented on the defense made by the Bishop Las Casas about the Indians that "Así disculpa Las Casas a aquellos indios de holgazanería y de incapacidad social, como los exculpa de todo."

Leaving now aside this unfortunate statement, Pidal forgets the presence of Blacks in his study about American Spanish among those two other linguistic elements: European and indigenous people. But this happened also on the English side. The American scholar Schele de Vere (1872: 148-150) made the following statement concerning those early slaves:

> "The negro formerly occupied too subordinate a position in the social scale to influence the speech of his masters. His ignorance, his carelessness, his inability, with peculiar organs of speech untrained for many generations, to repeat certain sounds at all, and his difficulty in perceiving others by the ear account amply for the havoc he played with the King's English."

In this study, we need to pay due attention to a *three-sided* language contact on the new continent. Fortunately, this situation has changed with the publication of some studies in the last three decades, but still much remains to be done as Dalby (1971: 15) states:

> "The growth of English into a world language began with its expansion to Africa and the New World, and Black English represents the oldest non-British form

of the language. Black immigrants, albeit immigrants against their will, constituted the largest non-British element in the North American colonies during the formative years of American English, and it would be wrong to disregard their influence on the historical development of the English language in the United States."

3.2. *Black Vernacular* and *homogeneity*: the uniformity of American English

One comparison often attested by Columbus was the great amount of languages spoken in the 16th century in Africa as opposed to the West Indies. In fact, the same linguistic variety existed in the New World. Black slaves were brought from the West coast of Africa, then called *Guinea*, by several European companies on an abominable commercial basis. Portuguese, Dutch, French, English or Spanish, all of them participated at a different scale on this race for supremacy.

This commerce of African slaves began with the Portuguese merchants who had established some permanent settlements for this purpose on their route to the East Indies some time before the discovery of America. As a result, a *lingua franca* developed along the East coast of Africa named Swahili. But few African languages had reached the status of general languages -or lingua franca- for communication between different people. This linguistic diversity and the lack of any important and widely spread *lingua franca* to be used as a contact with the Europeans on the West coast of Africa, gave way after the first contacts to some *pidgins*, particularly in Portuguese and Dutch, but also in English as attested by Machan and Scott (1992: 24). Thus, Pidgin English was brought to America and it later creolized and became, in the course of time, what is now called *Black English Vernacular* or *BEV*. Black English Vernacular has recently been a reason for linguistic dispute on the grounds of its un/alleged linguistic distinctiveness in relation with American English standard.

Machan and Scott (1992: 24) consider that this Black English Vernacular has its own "distinctive phonological, morphological, and lexical features". But this *distinctiveness* has not been fully recognized by all scholars. Krapp (1966) denied it and Mencken (1966) followed him. Likewise, Baugh and Cable (1990) manifested the same opinion.

Once again the problem for recognizing such a distinctiveness seems to lie partly in its linguistic implication. As previously mentioned, American English is considered to be a rather *homogeneous* language in comparison to some dialectal British varieties, a feature mostly praised by some American scholars in the past. By admitting now that American English contains such varieties as Black English Vernacular with its own distinctive features, we might hinder this notion of linguistic homegeneity. Consequently, some linguists rejected the distinctiveness insisting on the idea of linguistic conformity of American English.

However, since the Black English influence was obviously greater in Southern American English than in its Northern dialects, some scholars who denied this feature of distinctiveness for Black American Vernacular, condemned the Southern variety of American English as 'bad English'. This was the case of Mencken, who blamed, as quoted by M. Dohan (1974: 187), the "bad grammar" of Southern whites, "even in the loftiest circles."

3.3. A few examples

If the Indian influence on American English has been mostly at the lexical level, the Black influence is mainly attested at the grammatical one. An account of such grammatical differences is provided by D. Dalby (1971) who believes in this *distinctiveness* between American English and Black English Vernacular, although some other American linguists have recently rejected those diverging differences, such as J. L. Dillard (1993).

On the whole, few words have been successfully traced back to an early black influence. And the origin of these words is not a matter of consensus among linguists. De Vere (1872) admitted just three words: *buckra* -white man, a spirit, a powerful being-, *swankey* -beverage of molasses, vinegar and water- and *moonack* -mythical animal-. Krapp (1966) even denied the presence of any black borrowings in American English. Mencken (1937) nevertheless mentioned *buckra, gumbo, okra*- which the author believes to have entered English via Spanish-, *banjo* -a negro perversion of *bandore*, which was also of Latin origin- and *voodoo* -which he believes to have entered American English via French-. Pyles (1952: 37) provided as examples *yam*, believed by Mencken (1937) of Spanish or Portuguese origin, *cooter* and *pickaninny* -from Portuguese *pequenino*-. M. H. Dohan (1974: 191) traces the etymology of *banjo* to *banjil, banjor*, or *banger* as an African word. Finally, *Jazz* has been a matter of much controversy in so far as its etymology is concerned. Marckwardt (1980: 65) describes it as an *Africanism* together with others and declares that "Africanisms in American English tend to have been 'masked'."

On the Spanish side, few words have been attributed to an African origin. R. Lapesa (1988: 563) mentions among them some terms related to food or beverages such as *banana, malanga, guarapo*; words related to dancing and music such as *conga, bongó, samba, mambo*; and a few other words such as *macuto, matungo*, or the verb *ñangotarse*. Buesa Oliver and Enguita (1965) referred to the same ones. But the scholar who has most widely studied these words is Manuel Álvarez Nazario (1982), with the publication of several books on this aspect, although many words provided by this scholar are not widely used in Spanish or have been rejected by other scholars. As in the case of 'American Africanisms', Spanish 'Africanisms' have not been widely studied and the resulting uncertainty about them is greater than in the case of any other borrowings.

3.4. Black influence in English and Spanish

The presence of Black slaves on the continent took place from very early times but the study of their influence on the other foreigners and natives had to wait until recently. Dalby (1971) points out the importance of the fact that the first Black immigrants in the present United States arrived in Jamestown twelve years later than the first permanent English settlement in current Virginia in 1607 and just one year before the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers. They were too numerous as to reject any trace of their contribution to the language, particularly in the South and some other Northern states such as Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. In fact, these states had a considerable presence of Black immigrants as early as the seventeenth

century, as J.L. Dillard (1976) has pointed out.[1] And Carver (1992: 46) confirmed the presence as many slaves as white freemen in South Carolina by 1708 and three times more slaves by 1724.[2]

The proportion of Black slaves on the Spanish territory was probably higher, especially on the Caribbean Islands. Thus it is not surprising that Africanisms may be more abundant in the Spanish spoken on these islands than in some other Spanish-speaking territories. But in the course of time this commerce was fairly extended and the contacts among white Europeans became more intensive as a result of this human trade. John Hawkins was granted permission to transport Black slaves to the Spanish Antilles in 1562 under English flag. The English South Sea Company obtained royal permission from Spain to bring 144,000 Black slaves into Spanish American lands in 1717 at a rate of 4,800 each year during 30 years.

But not all the Black slaves came directly from Africa, some of them had previously been to Europe. Hence, we find the presence of some black people brought to the new continent from Spain, mainly from the South. Those coming from the Iberian peninsula were called '*negros ladinos*', '*negros de Castilla*' and also '*negros de Portugal*'. In 1502 Nicolás de Ovando took many Blacks from Southern Spain to La Española island.[3] M. Nazario (1982: 25) recalls the population estimate of Puerto Rico made by Coll y Toste: a general population of 3,600 men by the end of the 16th century, made up of 2,000 Spaniards (and white *criollos*), 600 *mestizos* and 1,000 Blacks. This may give us an idea of the importance of this third element largely ignored in linguistic studies.

Fortunately, this historical oblivion has started to change thanks to the interest of some scholars such as Dohan (1974: 193) who states that "Whatever the Negro's influence on the language and whatever the nature of his speech, there is no question that by the time of the Revolution he was an integral part of American life."

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[1] Further information on the presence of the black element in English can be found in J.L. Dillard (1976), "Yankee Doodle's Second Language-Pidgin English", pp. 1-43.

[2] Concerning this issue, see chapter 5 by C.M. Carver (1992) "The Mayflower to the Model-T: The Development of American English", pp. 131-155.

[3] For more information about the trade with Black people see C.A. Loprete & D. Mcmahon (1965: 68).

4. Sociolinguistic Implications of the Discovery of America

4.1. Language, Politics and Religion

Lexical borrowing does not occur just as a result of linguistic contact between two or more languages. Many other factors contribute to this borrowing: linguistic similarity, time, politics, etc. Weinreich (1970: 3-5) already referred to this sociolinguistic approach in his famous study about languages in contact. Though he applied his work to the problem of bilingualism, some of his formulations should equally prove very useful for the present study. Thus he pointed out as 'non-structural' factors to be considered when two languages come into contact, among many others, the following:

> - Attitudes toward each language, whether idiosyncratic or stereotyped
> - Size of bilingual group and its sociocultural homogeneity or differentiation; [...] demographic facts; social and political relations ...
> - Stereotyped attitudes toward each language ("prestige"); indigenous or immigrant status of the languages concerned;
> - Attitudes toward the culture of each language community;
> - Tolerance or intolerance with regard to mixing languages and to incorrect speech in each language[1]

As has been previously indicated, the number of Indian loanwords that entered American English and American Spanish *varied* greatly in the course of *time* (Dillard 1976: 52). Mencken already manifested that a significant change of opinion about those Indian loanwords took place in American English, especially after the American Independence. Yet there is a clear difficulty in establishing the different periods of borrowing, since the earliest written testimonies for an Indian word may not correspond to its earliest appearance in the language of travelers and colonists.[2]

On the whole, we may distinguish *three* different historical phases for Indian loanwords in American English: the first one stretches from the first settlements at the beginning of the 17th century, such as Jamestown, up to the War of Secession in

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[1] Some of these factors have been previously commented, such as the concepts of 'tolerance' towards Indian sounds, etc. I will deal in this chapter with these and a few others, such as the role played by 'politics' and 'prestige' in re-considering Indian loanwords and other 'Americanisms'. For more information, see Weinreich (1970: 103).

[2] Mathews (1931: 6-7) explained this problem concerning American expressions such as *cow yard, creek, crotch* and the like, which appeared in the New England records at a much earlier time than their earliest citation in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

1789. This first period is characterized by an initial strong borrowing of Indian words and is followed by a progressive decline, particularly after some of the conflicts between White Europeans and the Natives, as the second uprising against Jamestown in 1644. Some of these Indian words became fully established in American English and they are most of the present Indianisms such as *hickory, hominy, squash, squaw, tomahawk, totem, wigwam, moose, possum* or *powwow*. Similarly, as pointed out by Carver (1992: 134) some of them entered English through other European languages, mainly French and Spanish such as *caribou, mocassin* and *tomato, potato, chocolate, canoe, cannibal, barbecue, savannah.*

The second period goes from the War of Secession in 1789 to the beginning of the twentieth century, when the social consideration towards those Indian loanwords increased to a great extent in a parallel process to an emerging American feeling for self-determination. At this stage, Americanisms were highly valued and the notion of an American language became widely spread. To this period belong words such as *caucus, chipmunk, pecan, succotash* and *mackinaw.*

The third and last period runs from the beginning of the 20th century to modern times. Indian loanwords underwent a process of *decline* and some of them lost progressively much of their original meanings closely related to their Indian background, thus becoming part of the American English standard as pointed out by Marckwardt (1980: 31): "How rapidly some Indian words are dropping from the language is dramatically illustrated by a listing, made in 1902, of borrowings from the Algonquian languages alone. The list contains 132 words. By 1958, not more than thirty-seven of them were in use."

On the Spanish side, many Indian words were taken during the earlier years of the conquest and the two following centuries, due to *crossbreeding* between Spaniards and Indians in the absence of Spanish women on the new continent during the first years. *The Diccionario de Autoridades* contained 150 words from Indian origins and Antonio Alcedo compiled more than 400 words in his *Diccionario* by the end of the 18th century. T. Buesa Oliver as well as J.M. Enguita Utrilla (1990: 53) provide a list of around 1,000 that have been incorporated to the Spanish vocabulary from different parts of America, and this figure is followed by J.M. Enguita Utrilla. In the course of time some Indian words vanished from the Spanish standard, or never reached it. However, most of them persist in numerous regional *dialects* widely spread throughout Latin America.

The different appraisal of Indian words in the course of time did not only affect the number of native words that entered both languages. They also affected the evaluation made by linguists and scholars about Indian languages and sounds. There seems to be a tendency nowadays to accept without any criticism that these European speakers, particularly in the case of American English, had an earlier *positive* acceptance towards Indian sounds. I have already pointed out some comments about this idea in chapter 2.

On the whole, early travelers were greatly surprised at those many Indian languages. Their effort for learning some of them or for incorporating some words was determined by some material or spiritual interests. The early association between *savages, wild men* or *beasts* and the sounds they produced can be clearly proved by some of the colonial writings these settlers left. Commercial factors, such as the fur

trade or gold, geographical occupation and religious interests were often the indicators towards a positive acceptance of those languages. If some time later those sounds were to be regarded as *sweet* or *melodious,* it was again as a result of another sociolinguistic factor: the need to destroy the association Americanism-vulgarism because of the historical background of American English and Spanish. Some colonial writings, as compiled by R. H. Pearce (1965 114-115) may provide very good examples:

> "The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are futfull and fitt for habitation, being devoyd of all civil inhabitants, wher ther are only *salvage and brutish men*, which range up and downe, litle otherwise then the *wild beasts* of the same."
> William Bradford, *The History of Plymouth Plantation* (written 1620-1651)

> "That I chose rather to go along with those (I may say) *ravenous Beasts* [...] Oh the roaring, and *singing* and danceing, and *yelling* of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell [...] the *savageness* and *brutishness* of this *barbarous* enemy[...]"
> Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, from "The sovereignty and goodness of God" (1682)[3]

And Wright (1965: 166) has provided us with similar examples:

> "The fourth of May we came to the king of werowance of Paspahegh, where they entertained us with much welcome. An old *Savage* made a long *oration*, making a *foul noise*, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant."
> Georger Percy, President of the Council of Virginia in "Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation."[4]

There was a competitive race for conquering many territories on America. As a result, the comparison between Spanish and English is well-attested among some of the earliest English colonists. Thus William Bradford, as quoted by Pearce (1965: 29), wrote: "The Spaniard might prove *as cruell as the salvages* of America."

Some early Spanish travelers and settlers also expressed their admiration towards those languages, as Columbus manifested on several occasions or fray Francisco Ximénez, who wrote about the Quiche language that "Grande armonía en lo que antes oía decir que es *bárbaro*, tan grande propiedad en el decir, tan llegado a lo natural y propiedades de las cosas [...]."[5] But this praise came generally as a result of some other interest, and the association of those savage men with their barbarous sounds was a frequent fact. The father Juan de Rivero apologized for using some Indian

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[3] Further examples can be found in R.H. Pearce, ed. (1965)

[4] For more examples see L. Wright, ed. (1965)

[5] Some of these examples can be found in A. Gimeno López (1991: 231-239) and in C. Hernández et al. (1991).

words when writing about the missions in the inner part of Venezuela, as quoted by Lapesa (1988: 551):

> "No es pequeño estorbo el poco uso de la lengua castellana que por acá se encuentra, pues con la necesidad de tratar a estas gentes con sus idiomas *bárbaros*, se beben insensiblemente sus *modos toscos de hablar* y se olvidan los propios."

As we can see, the notion of *barbarous* was frequently associated to the Indian man and his land, the three of them seemed rude and harsh to the white men. To English as well as to Spanish earlier settlers Indian sounds seemed to be unspeakable. Agustín de Zárate on his *Censura al Consejo Real* comments about a certain book by Juan de Castellanos the following words:

> "Y en lo que más muestra la facundia de su ingenio es en injerir en sus coplas tanta abundancia de nombres *bárbaros* de indios, sin fuerza ni violencia del metroy cantidad de sílabas, con ser tales nombres *tan difíciles que apenas se pueden pronunciar con la lengua..*"[6]

It is worth noticing how some Spanish linguists have attempted to justify the use made by some colonists and later scholars of the word *barbarous* on the grounds that this association barbarous-language was only due to the Indian lack of *faith*, or alternatively to its *etymological* meaning, going back once again to the Roman Empire. But the word, as applied to Indian sounds, had certain historical connotations, since *barbarous* had acquired by then some of the negative meanings currently conveyed by this word.[7] This pejorative association has persisted in time and can be detected among some comparisons between European and Amerindian languages made by several scholars.[8]

Religion and *Politics* played a vital role in this linguistic contact after the Discovery of America. English and Spanish settlers wished to convert those savages into Christianity. This desire was much more evident on the Spanish side as the colonization of a new continent became for the Spanish Crown a *national enterprise* at a very early time. But those who have frequently accused the Spaniards for these purposes may forget that, if a parallel process did not take place from the very beginning on the rest of the continent, it was because the English settlement was made in the beginning as an individual or commercial adventure.

However, other religious implications at home promoted some of those early English settlements, such as the Puritans in New England or the Huguenots in French

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[6] Similar opinions to this one can be found in J. Enguita Utrilla. (1991: 205).

[7] An attempt for an eymological explanation to the use of the word 'barbarous' can be found in J. Enguita Utrilla (1991: 206).

[8] A very good example of this linguistic association can be found in M. Pidal (1978: 106) where he states that "La barbarie de las lenguas indígenas y su enorme cantidad y fraccionamiento no son circunstancias propicias para que cualquier rasgo de sintaxis de esas lenguas suministre un extranjerismo de cierto crédito y extensión dentro del español."

Canada. Hence it would be wrong to present a comparative picture of the American settlement by different Europeans in terms of their positive or negative intentions towards the Indians. Time was essential in this respect, and, sooner or later, all American Indians, from the extreme north to the extreme south of the continent, suffered the attempts of white Europeans to convert them into Christianity. Several examples can be found in Pearce (1965: 22):

> "*Religion,* aboue all things, should move us (especially the Clergie) if wee were religious, to shewe our faith by our workes; in converting those poore salvages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the Spanyards take to bring them to their adulterated faith."
> Captain John Smith, from "A Description of New England" (1616)

And similar comments can be found in Wright (1965: 43):

> "The Ends of this voyage are these: To plant Christian religion, to traffic, to conquer , or to do all three. To plant Christian religion without conquest will be hard. Traffic easily followeth conquest, conquest is not easy. Traffic without conquest seemeth possible and not uneasy."
> Hakluyt the Elder, from "Reasons for Colonization" (1585)

And the same objective was present among the early Spanish travelers and *conquistadores*: Columbus (1986: 141) manifested from the first day he set foot on the first American island his desire that the Indians be taught Spanish. In fact, language and religion appear together here:

> "Porque los tiene ya por *cristianos* y por de los Reyes de Castilla más que las gentes de Castilla, y dize que otra cosa no falta salvo saber *la lengua* y mandarles, porque todo lo que se les mandare harán sin contradición alguna."
> Columbus, Primer Viaje, viernes 21 de diziembre

It is obvious that the first European settlers needed to communicate with American Indians in order to convert them into Christianity. Thus many attempts were made on both sides, Spanish and English, in order to explain the Christian faith by means of those European languages, but the result was unsurprisingly quite unsuccessful. But faith had been traditionally explained in Latin and many churchmen and some scholars doubted at the early Renaissance time that the religious doctrine could even be fully taught in a vulgar language -Spanish, English, French, etc-.

Consequently, the English and Spanish of the 15th and 16th centuries received many new religious terms literally translated from Latin such as *Evangelical, godly, godliness,* etc.[9] But if the explanation of the Christian faith by means of a European vernacular language had been highly criticized by some scholars, how could the teaching of those divine words into a *barbarous* Indian language be accepted? Thus, it was necessary for some Spanish clergymen, as Quilis has pointed out (1992: 61),

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[9] Further examples may be found in R.F. Jones (1953) and M. Dohan (1974: 79-80).

to be extremely careful about the Indian versions of religious texts and to prove their accuracy with their original sources, as the archbishop Lobo Guerrero did on the occasion of a religious version into the *Chibcha* language: "La dicha traducción estaba fiel y significativa del original [...], en la manera que era posible decirlo en lengua tan *barbara y corta* como es la lengua de los dichos indios, y que no se podia hacer mejor."

However, some missionaries remembered that those much praised European languages, if compared to Indian tongues, had been not long before criticized on the same grounds when compared to Latin. Consequently, if the translation was possible in English and Spanish it should be equally possible in those Indian languages. Notice how clearly the Jesuit José de Acosta manifested this idea in his *Historia natural,* as quoted by Enguita (1990: 31):

> "Así pienso que no hay que preocuparse demasiado si los vocablos fe, cruz, virginidad, matrimonio y muchos otros no se pueden traducir bien ni hallarse su correspondiente en idioma índico, pues se podrá introducirlos del castellano y hacerlos propios, enriqueciendo la lengua con el uso, como lo hicieron siempre todas las naciones y de modo especial la española, que se enriquecieron con la abundancia ajena."

On the whole, a great controversy existed but the publication of several Indian Bibles in English as well as in Spanish took place since very early. One fact followed the other, the enlarging of the vocabulary with religious words in both languages in Europe was followed by the translation of some of those English and Spanish words into Indian languages (H. Wild 1945: 35). It is an interesting historical process of encounter between the common man with his native language and, finally, between him and God through it. *Man, language* and *religion* were three crucial factors in this sociolinguistic process.

In order to teach the Catholic faith, Spaniards learned and used the *lenguas generales*, i.e. the main Indian languages. It was a clear attempt to communicate not only with the groups of Indians who used those general languages but also with other minor groups who were also able to understand them. These *Lenguas Generales* were *Quechua, Náhuatl, Chibcha* and *Tupí-guaraní.*[10] As a result, some of those languages became more widespread than ever before thanks to the Spanish settlers. In fact, before the discovery took place it was difficult, for example, to find some Indian words from the Tahino language, belonging to the Arawakan group of the Antilles, in the Aztec or Mexicas language. But the Spanish settlers transmitted some Tahino words into several Indian languages encountered by them, as expmplified by A. Quilis (1992: 44). Hence, we may speak of a *double process of language transfer* on the Spanish side:

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[10] Further information on these *lenguas generales* can be found in Quilis, A. (1992: 40-44).

1. Spanish language → Indian Languages in America

2. Spanish → General languages → other Indian languages

Priests and missionaries were mostly responsible for this process in their attempt to convert those Indians into the Spanish language as well as in the spread of their languages. Indeed, some laws were passed in order to prevent any missionary from preaching the Catholic faith if he did not know any Indian language. But modern linguists have been on the whole more concerned about searching for the regional origins for those early American travelers than on the sociolinguistic importance that those religious groups had for the teaching of a particular linguistic *standard* to the Indians.

This process did not take place on the English side, not on even a same scale, since contacts with the Indians were much smaller, as clearly proved by the fact that there was not crossbreeding in earlier times. Harriot prepared a dictionary about the Algonquian language from Roanoke, which was unfortunately destroyed during the fire of London in 1666, and he even managed to design his own phonetic alphabet for the transcription of some of those Indian sounds. Likewise, John Eliot, who moved to Massachussets because of his strong Puritanism, wanted to convert the Indians to Christianity and, for this purpose, he translated with some help from a young native the *Ten Commandments* and *The Lord's Prayer* into the Algonquian dialect from Massachussets. In 1646 he was preaching in this Indian tongue and produced several other books as his *Indian Dialogues* (1617), a *Catechism* (1653), though his attempts were not generally followed (Bailey 1991: 30).

On the whole, this English interest for learning Indian languages was usually the consequence of geographical and political ambitions, as manifested by Cotlon Mather (1663-1728) and quoted by Bailey (1991: 73): "The best thing we can do for our Indians is to *Anglicise* them in all agreeable instances; and in that of language, as well as others." Similarly, P. Benítez (1991: 168) has searched for some of the linguistic attitudes towards those first grammars on the Spanish side and he quotes the comments made by archbishop Lorenzana when he declared that "*para que el indio sea feliz es necesario que sepa leer y escribir español.*"

Summing up, if the English tried to *Anglicise* the natives, the Spaniards had been equally trying to *hispanize* the Indians some time earlier. Therefore, the publication of some grammars on European languages had eventually a vital importance for the supremacy of those vernacular languages, not only in America, but also in other parts of the world. Then it is surprising to notice, since the American conquest had not taken place yet, as Pidal (1978: 49) points out, how the importance of producing grammars was clearly foreseen by the confessor of the Spanish Queen and bishop of Avila fray Hernando de Talavera, who answering a question asked by Queen Isabel la Católica about the use of Nebrija's *Spanish Grammar*, said:

> "Después que vuestra Alteza *meta bajo de su yugo muchos pueblos bárbaros y naciones de peregrinas lenguas*, y con el vencimiento aquellos tengan necesidad de recibir las leyes que el vencedor pone al vencido, y con ellas *nuestra lengua*, entonces por este arte gramatical podrán venir en el conocimiento de ella."

An approximate number of 180 Spanish grammars appeared in Nueva España according to Orozco y Berra by the end of the 18th century, and father Acosta provides the number of 700 existing grammars from Quito to Chile (P. Benítez 1991: 166). Some of these grammars were not published, though the founding of printing on the continent occurred as early as 1535 in Mexico. There were seven printers by the middle of the 16th century who published mainly books on religious topics and some dictionaries of Indian languages (C. Loprete & D. McMahon 1965: 63).

As a consequence of that need for spreading the Christian faith, some vocabularies also came to light. The interest for the Indian languages is clearly attested, as Karen Kupperman (1995: 42) points out, by the fact that there were twenty-three grammars of European languages as compared to twenty-one of American languages by 1700. Significantly, this author remembers that four grammars of Indian languages had been produced before any similar work was done on English or Dutch.

Similarly, some of the first American universities on the Spanish side were now founded: University of Santo Domingo in 1538, Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico and San Marcos de Lima both in 1551. In September 1551, Charles I, the Spanish Emperor, had already recommended the creation of several universities throughout the continent in order to provide the same rights and liberties to those graduated by these universities as well as by the one in Salamanca, in Spain (Quilis 1992: 52). This resulted in a total of thirty universities during the colonial time on the American continent.

Furthermore, the Spanish King Philip the Second sent a document to his Viceroy in Peru, Don Francisco de Toledo, permitting after a formal petition the creation of *'cátedras de lenguas indígenas'* (Gimeno 1991: 232). By 1551, the University of San Marco in Lima included, among other subjects, Indian languages.

Unfortunately, the importance of this early Spanish interest towards education is often neglected by some American scholars in the celebration of the present American (English) universities, as Fergusson and Health (1981: 115) declare:

> "The colonial role of Spanish in North America is largely ignored in the teaching of American history, and few Americans are aware, for example, that the first university in North America was not English-speaking Harvard, but the Spanish-speaking university of Mexico, or that there were some forty colleges and seminaries in operation in New Spain by the end of the Spanish regime."

4.2. Regional Background: Archaisms

The regional origins of those early English and Spanish settlers has been the goal of many studies. It is not my aim here to provide any new source or debate about the different existing theories on regional origins of those early settlers. My concern here is about the sociolinguistic consequences this regional searching may have on the historical conception of American English and Spanish.

There seems to be a wide consensus about the fact that America was mostly populated by people from the Southern Spanish and English territories during the first stage of the conquest, and that some time later this movement changed to migrants from the Northern territories. But what are the sociolinguistic consequences of

identifying a particular region as the first European linguistic ancestors of the American English and Spanish variations? The reasons for this search are closely connected to two sociolinguistic concepts: *archaism* and *dialectalism*.

American English as well as American Spanish have been traditionally described as containing more archaisms than their European counterparts. Thus it seemed necessary to search for their regional origins in Europe. But this may lead to a more controversial debate, i.e., can American English and American Spanish be on the whole considered as *more* 'archaic' than their European counterparts? Why do some authors label some American words as 'archaisms' and others as 'dialectalisms'? Are they so different? Is there any sociolinguistic implication in it? These will be the problems I will be exploring in the following paragraphs.

It seems widely accepted that the first colonists who arrived in America from Great Britain came in their greater part from Southeastern England. This theory goes back to Mencken (1937) who believed that New England speech originated in southern England. Other scholars have nevertheless proposed different theories. De Vere thought that the first Pilgrim influences came from the North and West but that other later colonists from the Eastern counties brought over part of their vocabulary and their peculiar speech, the 'New England drawl'. And according to Sir William Craigie (1927), Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East Anglia and the southwestern counties of England were the homelands of those early settlers. On the contrary, Anders Orbeck (1927) stated that all counties were equally represented.[11] The surveys published on the celebrated *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* and directed by Kurath identified again the Southern and Southeastern counties of England as the linguistic sources for these early settlers. But Dillard (1984: 51) also expressed his own doubts about these findings when he wrote:

> "The traditional position, stated by Kurath (1972) concerning the derivation of American regionalism from British regional dialects, is supported by very little evidence, and such evidence as is presented is limited to the domains of the farm and the home."[12]

This author believes that the general notion nowadays that some dialectal *diversity* - notice the use of this word- was brought to America by the first speakers of British regional dialects was an idea launched by Kurath (in 1928 and 1965), which can be hardly proved by the few records left. Thus Dillard (1984: 56) significantly points out that the 'the clause *who can be traced* is important here'.[13] Dohan (1974: 52)

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[11] This scholar drew his conclusions from an interesting examination of the early - American- English pronunciation. For further information see A. Orbeck (1927).

[12] In fact, J.L. Dillard (1984: 54) held a similar opinion to the one manifested by Alvar (1987) on the Spanish side. Dillard criticized some previous theories on the grounds that the first colonists were treated as separate units: "It has been traditional to consider the British-derived colonists somewhat artificially, as though they had been-unlike other known immigrant groups-a self-contained unit, apart from any other influences."

[13] As this linguist states: "only a relatively insignificant portion of the original emigrant group can be traced with any confidence to their places of origin in England".

declares that 'the speech of most of the early colonists was standardized English of the seventeenth century, with regional variations'. We may then ask ourselves what does this author understand by *standardized English of the seventeenth century*, probably the seventeenth standard speech from London, though many other scholars referred to the abundant dialectalisms that the American speech contained. This linguist tried to solve this vague statement with her final reference to 'with regional variations'. Cassidy (1971:87) referred to the same notion when he wrote 'that pronunciation and usage which furnished the basis of standard British English clearly predominated also on the New England frontier.'

It seems that some of these studies have paid attention to the fact that East Anglia was the English centre for *Puritanism* and, since most of the first settlers to arrive in America came to be known by their Puritan views, the association was a good starting point for this kind of research (Pyles 1952: 57; Dohan 1974: 87-88; Baugh 1990: 344).

On the whole, two important ideas should be taken into account in this debate: on the one hand, some of these studies are based on the analysis of the writings made by some famous settlers such as John Smith or the Quaker William Penn;[14] on the other hand, some linguists tried to search for the original sources of most of those first settlers taking into account the colonial writings that have survived. This attempt, if analyzed on its own, is rather inconvenient for two reasons: firstly, if we state, as some scholars have done and I will later comment on, that those colonists came on the whole from the *humbler* classes and most of them were *unlettered*, these few writings may not be very representative for many of those early colonists; and secondly, it is commonly believed that few literary works, whose model might have followed those few "lettered" settlers, were brought over to the new continent. The *King James Bible* of 1611 was by far the most popular book among those settlers.[15] Since this was probably the only model available among them it might be also inconvenient to draw any definite conclusion from just those sources.

This controversy remains today as clearly proved by the following disagreement between two scholars: Cassidy (1971: 86) states:

> "Limiting ourselves to English, we may say that on the ships of the explorers probably *every sort of local or dialectal speech could have been heard.* Settlements, when those were made, were sometimes less miscellaneous linguistically, but they were never 'pure'."

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[14] A good example of this tendency is provided by the following statement by A. Marckwardt (1980: 13): "our first concern, therefore, is with the kinds of English available to John Smith's Virginians, George Calvert's Marylanders, the Plymouth Fathers, the Bostonians of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Roger Williams' Rhode Islanders, and William Penn's Quakers."

[15] This idea was already pointed out by a few scholars, though it did not receive much attention. Thus H. Wild (1945: 34) affirmed that " The King James Bible of 1611 was an exquisite work from the linguistic point of view, and its dignified and archaic style influenced the early writings of the settlers, making them adverse to new-fangled importations from England."

On the contrary, Dillard (1984: 52) affirmed:

> "Thus when the Mayflower went to the New World carrying 202 passengers, representing two-thirds of the entire Pilgrim *population, it carried passengers who could hardly have represented the regional dialects of England at all* -much less in pure form."

Craig Carver (1992:133) admits that the *Mayflower Pilgrims* came from Nottinghamshire and "spoke a variety of Elizabethan English relatively unmixed with other English dialects", but he declares that other groups who migrated to the new continent were much more mixed with several varieties of English, though "the dominant speech was [that] of southeastern England".

On the whole, we may agree that the first settlers came from Southeastern England but, as I will later explain, the importance of this question goes far beyond the merely linguistic identification and has some other sociolinguistic consequences. But we should remember that a *process of language levelling* took place before and after the arrival of those early settlers in Spanish as well as in English.

On the Spanish side, the same controversy appeared. It is commonly believed that Andalusian Spanish was the most important linguistic source for the peopling of the West Indies.[16] This debate reached its peak with Cuervo, Henríquez Ureña, Wagner and Amado Alonso. Indeed, some foreign scholars became recipients of their theories and reflected the opinions manifested in some of these studies, as when Trend (1953:66) declares that:

> "It is quite untrue to say that most of them came from Andalucía, though they all embarked at Seville. There were many Extremeños and Basques; and an Asturian ballad, heard in a mountain village in Chile, proved quite clearly where some of the original inhabitants of that village had come from."[17]

Much more recently, Máximo Torreblanca (1991: 354) concluded in an interesting study about the pronunciation of the Caribbean Spanish at the 16th century that:

> "Los españoles llegados a América en este siglo, procedían de diversos lugares de la Peninsula Ibérica, aunque entre ellos había un gran contingente de

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[16] It is not very convenient to use the term 'Andalusian Spanish', since it covers a relatively large portion of land in Spain, including several different regional variations. The Spanish spoken in the city of Seville at that time -which was the main departure harbour towards the Americas- was somehow different to the Spanish spoken in the Eastern part of Andalusia, for example Granada.

[17] This opinion, though scarcely proved by his author, may be found in J.B. Trend. Similarly, J. Te Paske. (1967: 69) stated that "while the men who accompanied Columbus on his first two voyages were probably all from Andalucía, as early as 1506 it was plainly evident that, politically at least, the Aragonese were dominant in Hispaniola, or Santo Domingo."

andaluces. Las diferencias lingüísticas, según su lugar de origen, se borraron entre ellos, imponiéndose la norma andaluza."

Menéndez Pidal (1978: 107) considered that most of the earliest colonists came originally from Andalucía, Extremadura and the Canary Islands. A. Garrido Domínguez (1992) declared that the whole peninsula was represented on the new continent and provides some words used in America at that time which are original from several Spanish regions. But the same author distinguishes the supremacy of southern settlers during the 16th century and of northern colonists from the 18th century onwards. R. Lapesa (1988: 563-570) provides a brief account of these studies in his celebrated book, and concludes that between 1493 and 1508, sixty per cent of the Spanish colonists came from Andalucia and that this predominance, though somewhat smaller, continued during the following years.

Consequently, after a long debate it seems today that many linguists accept the Andalusian origin for the early colonists, though the presence not much later of settlers from other Spanish regions is well-attested. We will now explore some other intervening factors in this process of identification and their sociolinguistic consequences of such it.

Most scholars previously mentioned were too concerned in their attempt to identify the specific regional backgrounds as to pay attention to some other intervening factors. The most important was the *process of levelling* that took place among those earlier colonists on both sides. This process has not received too much attention but we must not forget that journeys across the sea in those years took a long time and not few risks.

Consequently, it might be reasonable to suppose that some of those settlers underwent a certain *process of levelling* on their long journeys to the New World, or even before, since some of those adventurers had to wait at the harbors for a certain period before sailing. Then, the journey to the New World took some months in which several travelers from different places had to live and work together. Mencken (1937: 125) refers to this fact when he says: "The round trip across the ocean occupied the better part of a year, and was hazardous and expensive; a colonist who had made it was a marked man."

There are not many traces about which were the linguistic consequences of such a long journey on the vocabulary of each traveler. We unfortunately lack some studies about this process, especially in Spanish.[18]

On the other hand, a second *process of leveling* might have taken place after the settlement, for speakers generally tend to pick up some features from the linguistic community by which s/he is surrounded. Thus the speech of the first colonists who were literally transplanted from their native lands into a new linguistic environment at a mature age probably differed from those settlers already born and reared on the

[18] On the English side, an interesting study is provided by J.L. Dillard (1985: 55), chapter 11 "On Levelling and Diversity in the Early Period". The same author had named this process in an earlier study (1975: XI) as a process of "simplification."

new continent, despite their family or regional background.[19] This fact may be clearly more accentuated in the case of Spanish where a crossbreeding between Spanish men and Indian women took place from very early, since Spanish women were not initially allowed to travel to the new continent.

In addition to the two leveling processes previously commented on, many settlements took place on the continent as some colonists did not always stay at the first place they encountered. Some of them traveled to the Caribbean Islands in search of land and fortune and moved later on to the mainland when the conditions on the islands made life hard. M. Alvarez Nazario (1982) has pointed out that this *inner* migration from the islands to the continent was common, for instance, when the land they exploited became less productive, causing then a migration from present Puerto Rico -called then *Boriquen*- to Mexico. Similarly, there was a constant movement of English settlers along New England. The result was a *constant mobility* among some of those colonists.

Dillard (1985:52), an American scholar who has often emphasized the importance of such a process of levelling, has provided a magnificent example of it. He points out that the Pilgrim group went first to Holland, where they stayed for some years, before leaving definitely for the West Indies. This linguist recalls some of the fears expressed by the Pilgrims in Holland as, for instance, 'losing their language' after a relatively important process of assimilation. This author believes that this process appeared at the earliest times of the American settlement and reached its fullest extent in the middle of the 18th century.

Other linguists have also taken over this idea from a sociolinguistic point of view, as Craig Carver (1992: 138):

> "The leveling process probably began soon after settlement and continued until the regional dialects became well established, probably around the mid-eighteenth century. Leveling at the *national* level, however, has never really stopped, though it has gone through phases. It was probably at its weakest point during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when American regional cultures and regional *pride* were asserting themselves."[20]

Though much less studied, we find the same process in the case of Spanish. Few authors have alluded so far to it, as for instance Tomás Buesa Oliver and J.M. Enguita (1992: 27) who mentioned that after the first settlements the Spanish underwent '*una simultánea nivelación lingüística de sus diferencias dialectales*'.

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[19] Some linguists have alluded to this idea, such as J.L. Dillard. (1985: 63), who states that "whatever dialects their parents may have retained when they came to the Americas, the colonial children leveled their dialects for the best of the reasons- if they did not, they would have to bear the ridicule of their peers."

[20] This linguist wrote: "Instead, the differences in the varieties of British English taken to America tended to be leveled out over a period of 150 years or so.[...]To be sure, some leveling did occur on a "national" basis, but the extent is difficult to ascertain"

Consequently, it is obvious that a language, as Baugh pointed out, cannot be simplistically 'transplanted'. Only speakers can be transplanted. Thus language might not be here considered as an independent systemic entity from a mechanist or structuralist point of view, but as a social product of human activity where many factors -communication, context, etc- intervene. Therefore, a permanent *social interaction,* among some other sociolinguistic aspects, among those settlers should also have affected their language.

The early regional origins and their influence in the language are interesting matters but it is hard to assume that the present American English or Spanish can be simplistically identified with their regional ancestors as if they had been condemned to be determined *ad infinitum* by their forefathers' speech and without any linguistic change whatsoever in the following five hundred years.

After this presentation about the problems for defining a regional background, it is time to explore the needs for it, besides a merely linguistic motivation. Once we have declared that American English had its earliest roots in New England speech, which in turn could be traced back to Southeastern England, and once we have determined that Andalusians were predominant during the first years of the settlement, we should ask ourselves what can be inferred from it from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is well-known that American English as well as American Spanish have often been described as containing many *archaisms* from a contrastive perspective -America vs. Europe-. But actually most of those archaisms could be traced back to certain European regions. So, most of those American archaisms can be also labeled as English *dialectalisms* or *regionalisms*. Hence it seems that some scholars believe that most of those regionalisms were brought over to the new continent by those earlier Southeastern English or Southern Spanish settlers, and that those words remained unchanged up to the present. Thus, should we admit that American English and American Spanish are more archaic?.[21]

Nevertheless, the concept of archaism lacks a clear linguistic definition. MacArthur, for instance, in his *Oxford English Companion to the English Language,* provides a literary definition to archaism, but not a linguistic one. But it is also affirmed that "there is seldom a consensus."

Indeed, there are significant contradictions due to the lack of a clear-cut linguistic definition of archaism. I will mention only three of them: firstly, American English could be *very* archaic but also too innovative.[22] Secondly, some authors

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[21] According to H.L. Mencken (1966: 224) "the notion that American English is fundamentally only an archaic form of British English has been propagated diligently by two groups of writers on language: first, Americans who seek to establish the truth of Lowell's saying that "our ancestors, unhappily, could bring over no English better than Shakespeare´s", and second, Englishmen who deny Americans any originality whatsoever in speech, and seek to support their denial by showing that every new Americanism that pops up was used centuries ago by Chaucer, Spencer or Gower."

[22] This apparent paradox as commented on by A. Marckwardt (1980: 69) when he mentioned the fact that British people are usually surprised at the American English because of "the unprecedented innovations and the unbelievable archaisms of the colonists". Similarly, on the Spanish side R. Lapesa (1988: 583) declared that "En la morfología y en la sintaxis el español de America mantiene arcaismos, pero también lleva adelante innovaciones que en el

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identified, as I pointed out before, the New England speech with the seventeenth British English standard and not with a particular region, yet the American variation allegedly contains more archaisms than any British dialect. And thirdly, since mobility was constant on the new continent it is hard to assume that the type of English spoken by the first American pilgrims remained unchanged for many centuries, in contrast with British English.

Obviously, all these theories seem to be based on different meanings -since there is no consensus on it- of archaisms depending on what they are compared to. Thus we need to ask ourselves whether *ary, pesky, snicker* or *kilter* may be considered American English archaisms or British dialectalisms -from Essex- or both; and we should equally consider whether *agrimonia, albardón, arreado* and *ajumado* are American Spanish archaisms or Spanish dialectalisms -from Andalusia-. Carver (1992: 125) pointed out that "often English dialect terms became standard American words" and gives as examples *cordwood, shoat, deck, squirt, pond, wilt* and some others. On the Spanish side, J.G. Moreno de Alba (1991: 102) provided a good account of those alleged archaisms and their relation with Andalusia, concluding that "podría decirse, entonces, que en la quinta parte de las voces arcaicas propias de dialectos americanos, de alguna parte, es perceptible cierta relación con el sur de España."

As it was previously mentioned, the labels "American English" or "American Spanish" are very vague and ambiguous but the same problem arises with the notions of British English or peninsular Spanish. What do they exactly mean? American English as spoken in Southern Georgia may seem *more archaic* than standard British English -the famous RP standard English-, but comparatively, dialectal Yorkshire English may also seem *less innovative* than current American English standard -General American-.

In short, it is obvious that the definition of archaism will depend on our contrastive perspective and on our purposes. As there is not a clear-cut definition, I find it more than a duty for any linguist attempting to provide a list of archaisms, to declare first what particular variations are going to be compared and how does s/he define archaism. In fact, Baugh (1990: 353) referred to some of these problems in his famous study.

On the Spanish side, the same uncertainty about the notion of archaism existed and for this reason some scholars felt more than a necessity to clarify the idea that American variations containing more archaisms than their respective mother tongues does not mean that American English or Spanish are more archaic than the European counterparts. As A. Garrido Domingues (1992: 42) pointes out "en el español americano hay vulgarismos, dialectalismos y arcaismos, pero no significa que el español americano se defina sencillamente por vulgar, dialectal y arcaizante."

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peninsular están menos desarrolladas, o inicia por su cuenta otras independientes."

4.3 Social background: Vulgarisms

Much more difficult to prove than the regional origin for those early settlers is their social background since most of the colonists did not leave many traces enabling us to search for their origin. As a consequence, this aspect of the linguistic colonization has also been controversial. Once again, the concern about searching for a social origin for those early settlers is not just a linguistic problem. Some sociolinguistic reasons lie behind it, the most important being the definition of the term *vulgar* as applied to the American variations that Spanish and English had obtained in the course of time. Thus, do American English and American Spanish contain more vulgarisms than both languages in Europe?

The general tendency was to accept that those settlers came from the lower classes for American English and American Spanish, though not all scholars have agreed upon this matter. Mencken (1937: 114) states that:

> "Among the first settlers there were a few men of education, culture and gentle birth, but they were soon swamped by hordes of the ignorant and illiterate, and the latter, cut off from the corrective influence of books, soon laid their hands upon the language."[23]

Some scholars have supported this theory since then, such as Mathews (1931: 12) who declared that:

> "The English people who first settled in New England came as a rule from the humbler walks of life in England [...] Many of these first recorders had not been to school enough to know how to spell some very common words."

But the examination made by Mathews should not be considered definitive, since he drew his conclusions from a study of just the few earliest written records. In fact, Mathews (1931: 5) observed some of the irregularities in the spelling made by those settlers, concluding that they were made "by people trained to write as they should speak, not as they really did speak". And the same view was held by H. Wild (1945: 27-32) who stated that "the Englishmen who first settled in the New World came as a whole from the humbler walks of life."

As previously stated, the first settlers had to name a New World with the only help of their language and imagination. One of the first linguistic devices used by man when attempting to describe something unknown is comparing something that is unknown to something known from experience. And it seems obvious that this type of comparisons was used by Spanish and English chroniclers and travelers whose good education at that time was beyond any doubt (E. Martinell Gifre: 1988).

On the whole, some of those old words may have been mistakenly used to name the new flora and fauna, though this was not generally the result of their ignorance,

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[23] Mathews (1931: 12) reminds us in his book that John Pory, secretary to Sir George Yeardley, Deputy Governor, lamented the fact that out of the eleven ships that arrived from England, men came "more with ignorance than with any other merchandize."

but rather of the human necessity to give a name from experience. In fact, many new English and Spanish compounds emerging at that time included the noun "Indian+" / "de India". So, we need to be cautious and not to draw some wrong conclusions such as Dohan (1964: 62) did when he wrote that "despite a generous proportion of cultured men among the early settlers, most of the immigrants were humble men, unlettered; and their speech was *dialectal* and unschooled."

The first Spanish colonists were described in much the same way. Lapesa (1988: 570) refers to the finding of six hundred letters written by those early immigrants which exemplify that "están escritas en su mayor parte por andaluces de escasa cultura." And M. Pidal manifested the same idea (1978: 107), drawing a very negative picture about American Spanish when he associates American Spanish with 'lo inculto' and stating that "*lo vulgar* supone la mayor iniciativa del pueblo inculto."

Generally, many linguists have supported this theory about the peopling of America by the lower classes (Garrido Domingues: 1992: 45). But the opposite idea has also been supported by some other important scholars on both sides. Thus T. Pyles (1952: 57) declared that:

> "Our early settlers were not for the most part illiterate peasants speaking local dialects, but Englishmen of the upper-lower and lower-middle classes, with the prejudices and intolerances, linguistic as well as religious and economic, which are frequently attendant upon those stations in life."

And a similar argument has been provided by Cassidy (1971: 88) when he writes that "In America, generally and especially on the frontier, the dominant speech was of middle-class origin, and in its relatively classless society."

Dillard (1975 & 1985), a linguist deeply concerned with American English, has modified to a certain extent his initial position concerning this matter. Thus, although he originally (1975: 54) declared that "the emigrant groups from England came chiefly from relatively low social strata", he (1985: 53) added later on that this social origin was much more diverse than usually recognized, reminding us the fact that "*Excellent use of the English language* is the kind of phrase that recurs over and over again in the records of observation of the speech of North American colonists, including the Pilgrim fathers."

Similar declarations, particularly made by some well-known 18th century scholars, have been pollitically-influenced as a reaction to the often criticized American English. In fact, Dillard (1985: 63) remembers that similar negative descriptions were made about other kinds of English spoken around the world, such as the variety brought over to Australia by the first immigrants:

> "The preponderance of convicts among the early settlers is familiar and no doubt exaggerated; responsible historians have pointed out that the "convicts" were often people guilty of no greater crime that being poor and in debt. But the Australian immigrants, like the American, were not upper class; they came, like the Americans, from *all parts* of the mother country."

Baugh (1990: 345) also supports the diverse social extraction for those early settlers, and provides some good examples as the founding of Jamestown in 1607 by

English colonists, recalling that among those founders there were "political refugees, royalists, Commonwealth soldiers, deported prisoners, indentured servants, and many Puritans. The population was pretty mixed both as to social class and geographical source." Likewise, Bill Bryson (1994: 3) gave an account of some of those travelers "among the professions represented on the *Mayflower's* manifest were two tailors, a printer, several merchants, a silk worker, a shopkeeper, and a hatter."

On the Spanish side, the same reaction against the alleged low social extraction of those early travelers to American can be well attested. Rosenblat, for instance, denies that the conquest and colonization was carried out mainly by the lower classes, particularly in the case of peasants. According to this reputed scholar, Spanish peasants did not travel to the new world. In contrast, there were many *'hidalgos, marineros, artesanos, mineros y gentes principales'*. So, this linguist does not accept the *vulgar* condition for American Spanish.[24] And E.M. Gifre (1988: 63) also mentions that after the *conquistadores* many *'geógrafos, naturalistas y antropólogos'* traveled to the Americas.

Once again, the problem lies in the lack of an appropriate linguistic definition for *vulgarism*. It seems that some scholars tried to prove that most of those *vulgarisms* contained in these languages, even nowadays, are a natural result of the social condition of those first lower-class colonists. It seems necessary then to define first what vulgar means as applied to a language. In MacArthur (1992: 1,098) we find that *vulgar* is described as:

> "a non-technical term that has moved from a neutral and general to a pejorative meaning. Formerly, it referred to ordinary life and ordinary people [...]. Concomitantly, a sense of coarseness and lack of breeding and culture developed, associated with `lowest orders´ of society."

Dillard (1985: 53) remembered that some scholars expressed their admiration towards American English by stating "excellent use of the English language' for those early settlers' speech". In fact, this American reaction can still be clearly seen in A.H. Marckwardt (1980: 15) when he writes that "the earliest English colonists in the New World spoke, among themselves, Elizabethan English, the language of Shakespeare, Lyly, Marlowe, Lodge, and Green."

On the Spanish side, a similar problem about the social origins of those early settlers exists, which included artisans, sailors, merchants, apart from soldiers and peasants. The presence of indentured servants is well-attested from very early times, though as some scholar recalled, social mobility in America was on the whole more important than at home, and in fact, it was common for some of those indentured servants to build up their own business once they had achieved their freedom.

However, the important question here is to consider the general education of those middle- and lower-class colonists. J. Te Paske (1967: 45) refers to illiteracy of the early colonists when he writes that "whatever the power of the printed or written

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[24] Further information on this issue can be found in A. Garrido Domínguez (1992) and T. Buesa & J. Enguita (1992).

word among the upper and middle classes, the majority of Englishmen could not read."

Consequently, considering the total population at that time and the rate of literacy in Europe, we should not draw some wrong conclusions about the illiterate condition of those early American settlers, such as saying that only the *uneducated* lower classes participated in this settlement. With this statement, we are actually including the vast majority of the English and Spanish population in the 16th and 17th centuries! Thus it is rather vague to declare that America was peopled by the lower-classes or that they were unlettered. What should have we expected at that period of time? How many massive settlements were carried out by the higher-classes in history? These questions may answer why some scholars insist on describing American English and American Spanish as more "vulgar" than their European counterparts.

In conclusion, it is essential to bear in mind the social strata of England and Spain at that time. The colonization of America was mainly carried out by the middle as well as by lower classes. So it seems inaccurate to state that American English and American Spanish are or were more *vulgar* than the European variations on the grounds of the social background for those early settlers.

5. Naming the new reality

In the following pages, I will describe from a comparative point of view some of the linguistic devices used by English and Spanish settlers in order to name the new reality encountered by them on the American continent. Weinreich (1970: 54) already referred to some of these linguistic tools when he analyzed the various ways in which one vocabulary can interfere with another. In this study I will compare loanwords adopted by English and Spanish from Indian languages as well as from other Indoeuropean languages in the New World, with particular reference to the morphological adaptation that some of those loanwords underwent in their contact with a new language. Then, I will refer to some of the semantic changes that took place in Spanish as well as English as a result of the discovery. And finally, I will comment on compounding and derivation in both languages.

5.1. Compounding

Compounding on the American continent was more important for English than for Spanish. This fact is closely related to the respective histories of both languages since compounds were much more abundant in a Germanic language like Old English than in Romance language like Spanish. It is worth noticing, however, how English settlers preferred in general to make a new English compound than to borrow an Indian word as compared to Spanish. In the case of Spanish, it was frequent to make use of periphrasis and metaphors in order to describe the new reality.

A considerable number of compounds entered English during the settlement of America. Marckwardt (1980) emphasized this tendency of the English language towards compounding from the earliest times. A few examples are *live oak* -1610-, *ground hog* -1656-, *swamp oak* -1681-, *bull frog* -1698-, *bottom land* -1728-, *underbrush* -1775-.

There were several ways to make compounds, for instance, by putting together two different English nouns or also by adding to a noun a determiner such as an adjective. There are many examples for the latter case. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* cites eighty compounds with the term "Indian" before a noun as in *Indian Field* -1634-, *Indian meal* -1635-, *Indian-harvest* -1642-, *Indian-purchase* -1642-, *Indian-trade* -1644-, *Indian-arrow* -1654-.

These two sorts of compounds were generally preferred by the English settlers to the Indian loanwords. A good example of the English preference for compounds instead of borrowing native words is provided by the well-known *Indian corn* as opposed to *maíz*, a word introduced via Spanish into English as *maize* but soon abandoned by Puritans settlers, who preferred the English-based *Indian corn*, later reduced into *corn*. *Corn* provided itself a very abundant source for such compounds.

Indeed, the *Dictionary of Americanisms* contains eight pages of compounds with the word *corn*, such as *corn-field* -1608-, *corn-ground* -1622-, *corn-stalk* -1645-, *corn-basket* -1648-, *corn-land* -1654-, *corn-blade* -1688-. And a similar process took place with some other common words such as *war*: *war-dance* -1711-, *war-dress* -1724-, *war-whoop* -1725-; or with *back* as in *back-woods, back-street, back-lane, back-land,* etc.

But the early American settlers also made up some well-known compounds today by putting together two different English terms such as *woodchuck, catfish, bullfrog, hillside, jointworm, eggplant, copperhead, rattlesnake, bobcat, bayberry* and so forth. It was also possible, although less common, to make compounds of an English noun plus an Indian word such as: *Canada goose* -1676- or *moccasin flower* -1680-, the first element of the compound being an Indian borrowing.

Spanish settlers made also use of this linguistic device, though we find it in less abundance than in American English. Thus we might find some highly descriptive examples such as *agarrapalo*, *chupasangre*, *arañagato*, *atrapamosca*, *picofeo*, *tragavenados*. As in the case of English, Spanish also made good use of certain patterns of compounds such as a Spanish noun + *'de India'*: *tigre de India*, *león de India*, etc. Other words following the same linguistic pattern were also common, as J. Enguita (1990: 38) has proved, e.g. Spanish nouns with *'de la tierra'*: *camisas de la tierra*, *cerezas de la tierra*, *perro de la tierra*, *puerco de la tierra*, *uva de la tierra*, etc.

And the combination of a Spanish noun plus an Indian loanword was also possible in Spanish, already used by Columbus (1986: 181) in his *Diaries* as in *ajes de las Indias*. Other examples are *cardos de las pitahayas*, *cardo de tuna, pan de yuca*, the second element being an Indian loanword.

In conclusion, the English settlers made a greater use of compounding in contrast with the Spanish colonists, who preferred other linguistic devices, such as derivation as we will now review.

5.2. Conversion and Derivation

Using a noun as a verb or a verb as an adjective or a noun was also very common among the earliest English travelers. Thus, *conversion*, also called *zero-derivation*, became a linguistic device often used by those English colonists (Mencken 1937: 117). This American capacity to change the grammatical function of some English words was despicably criticized by some British scholars who considered them as a result of their lack of education and carelessness in language. Among those American words criticized were *congressional, presidential* or *gubernatorial*, now widely spread in the English language. The previous examples were nouns turned into adjectives but we may find also nouns used as verbs such as *to tomahawk*, appeared as early as 1650, and *to caucus*, from the early Indian loanword *caucus*. Other examples using English nouns are *to scalp, to advocate, to progress, to oppose*. A few words were equally turned into nouns such as *a carry-all, a goner*. The flexibility of the English language for converting some of its words into new grammatical categories is astonishing and can be clearly exemplified by some of the surprising American English derivations from Indian loanwords that were already

cited by Mencken as in *caucusable, caucusdom, caucuser, caucusified*, all of them from the Indian *caucus*.

In contrast, Spanish lacks that grammatical flexibility for converting nouns into verb, etc. But some examples can be found such as *ranchar* for saquear, formed from *rancho*. However, the most singular derivational process in Spanish was the use of the *diminutivo*, with no parallelism on the English side. Although diminutive-suffixing is generally used for certain connotative reasons, they were widely applied to some Spanish nouns in order to designate a new American object which had some feature in common with the word it was compared to, i.e., it was used as a comparative linguistic device that helped to create new words. In time some of those Spanish nouns with an added diminutive became general and entered the language losing then their earlier comparative structures. Most of them remained only popular among certain American Spanish dialects but some of them reached the Spanish standard, such as *armadillo* as referred to the animal, a word originally applied because of its physical comparison to the *armadura* (armour) of a soldier. The suffix *-illo* was very productive as in *mançanillos, pampanillas, tortillas, alcaparrillo,* etc. But other suffixes were also used such as *-ita* in *reinita; -ero* in *uvero*; and *-era* in *tiradera*.

Similarly, a few augmentative-suffixes were used, though less frequently, in order to designate other species such as *gallinazo, cimarrón, chapetón, zancudo*.

5.3. Semantic Shift

Changes of meaning were very abundant and probably the most widely used linguistic device in English as well as in Spanish. As stated before, some linguists linked the semantic change undergone by some English and Spanish words to the illiteracy of the first settlers, though, as was explained, changes in the meaning of a word take place whenever two or more languages are in contact. We usually compare something unknown to what we already known from our experience. Possibly, some of those examples of misnaming by the early colonists resulted from their confusion of different things, for instance, a blackbird and a robin, but not all those semantic changes came as a consequence of their mistakes when designating the new reality. Their attempt to compare what they saw there to what they knew at home is more than evident in some of those semantic changes as in *barn*, whose different use by American settlers changed the original meaning of this word in England from 'house or shed for storing crops' to 'house or shed also for cattle'.

Once again the list of semantic changes in English might be endless. Some of the most famous and widely cited are: *creek* (in England means an inlet from the sea whereas in America it is a small running stream); *lot* (in England is a counter and in America an individual grant of land), *lumber* (in England is referred to disused goods and in America to cut timber).

Many species from the flora and fauna received old names whose meaning differed in England and in America. Some of the most frequently named are *bay, laurel, beech, walnut, hemlock, blackbird, hedgehog, lark, swallow, marsh hen*, etc.

A significant example of change in meaning, which had other sociolinguistic implications previously described, is provided by *corn*. Mencken (1937: 122) recalls the history of this term as follows:

> "*Corn*, in Orthodox English, means grain for human consumption, and especially wheat[...].The earliest settlers, following this usage, gave the name of *Indian corn* to what the Spaniards, following the Indians themselves, had called *maiz*. [...]But gradually the adjective fell off, and by the middle of the eighteenth century *maize* was called simply *corn* and grains in general were called breadstuffs."

As a result, *corn* remained in British English as the seed of any of various types of grain plants, such as barley, oats, and especially wheat whereas in America it was applied only to what originally was called *maize*, an Indian loanword.

Similarly, several examples of changes in the meaning of Spanish words can be cited. Some of them had to struggle against other words, particularly an Indian loanword, thus we find that *puma* was initially called *león* -again a comparison to what those settlers knew from their experience- though it is less common nowadays. But other Spanish-based words remained and can be heard today more often than their respective Indian loanword in some parts of America such as *tigre* for *jaguar*, *buitre* for *cóndor, comadreja or zorro* for *zarigüeya, cuervo* for *zopilote, gato* for *ocelote, gorrión* for *colibrí, lagarto* for *caimán, yacaré, perro* for *calungo* or *chihuahua*, etc.

Many vegetables received other already existing words as referred to new plants or trees on the American continent such as *madroño, níspero, ciruela, granada, mastuerzo, cedro, cereza, laurel, haya, roble* and the like. As a result, these names designate nowadays different species in America and in Spain. An example of how this misnaming resulted from comparison, and not by mistake, is the word *piña* as referred to the tropical fruit -pineapple-, which was so named because of its similar appearance to the common *piña* in Spain -pine cone-.

The sea provided an important number of words with change of meanings as in *amarrar, boliche, rebenque* and the like. This linguistic feature -the presence of nautical words- is also common to American English and American Spanish. It is important to remember that those travelers, though not sailors most of them, had to spend a relatively long time on a ship when crossing the ocean. Thus many maritime names started to be applied to other ideas until they became so general that some of them lost their original connection to the sea. Thus *ensenada* was applied to a *cercado* or *corral* and *playa* to *un espacio llano*.[1]

5.4. Borrowing

5.4.1. Adaptation

As it was previously mentioned, English and Spanish settlers considered most of the Indian words they found *unpronounceable*. So, a certain time was needed in order to

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[1] For further examples see R. Lapesa. (1988: 597).

fully adopt those Indian words, trying to adapt them to the English and Spanish phonological system. As a result, the spelling of Indian loanwords changed constantly.

On the English side, it was common to reduce many of the sounds that appeared in the first spellings, particularly some consonantal clusters that did not occur in the English language. Marckwardt (1980: 64) referred to this process when the English colonists encountered such combinations as *mtik, pshikye, kchimkwa* and the like and declared that: "The English speaker, encountering such combinations as these, would in all probability eliminate one of the consonants, or else insert vowels between them."[2] So, this linguist pointed out that *simplification* and *shortening* were the two most common ways to introduce Indian words. A few good examples of how this process of adaptation took place are cawcawassoughes > coucorouse > *caucus* (from Algonquian); raugraoughcum > rarowcun > *rackoone, racoone, 'coone*; misickquatash > sacatash > *succotash* > *squash;* pawcohiccora > pohickery > *hickory;* segonkw > squuack > *skunk.*

And a similar process took place with most Indian place-names such as Quonaughticot (long river in Mohegan dialect) > *Connecticut; Shecaugo* (playful waters) > *Chicago,* etc.

A different case was represented by other Indian loanwords that were borrowed by English from other European languages, generally after part of the process of adaptation had already taken place. This was a very common fact, since English adopted many Indian loanwords once other European languages had accepted and consequently adapted them, such as *toboggan* in French or *tabaco* in Spanish.

On the Spanish side, similar examples of adaptation can be found. But the early Spanish colonists and missionaries were not so concerned about shortening the Indian loanwords as much as with reducing some initial and final consonantal groups that did not appear in Spanish, which made some of those sounds unpronounceable to a Spanish ear at that time. Some of those cases are *tlatlacolli* > *tatacul; tlalli* > *tlati; petlakálli* > *petaca; tzapotil* > *zapote; cuntur* > *condor; mahis* > *mahiz* > *maíz.*

Finally, it is important to remember that these words were eventually accepted after competing against some other -native or non-native- terms. This gave way to several lexical doublets, especially in Spanish since it was the language that accepted in a greater extent some of those Indian sounds. Some examples of pairs of words taken in Spanish from different Indian languages but having the same meaning are: *cacique* and *batab*; *ceiba* and *yaxché*, *piim*; *copal* and *pom*; *jícara* and *luch*; *maíz* and *icim.*

5.4.2. Indian loanwords

Generally, English started borrowing Indian loanwords later than Spanish, which is not surprising considering the earlier colonization of America by Spain. However, the English language did not accept some of those Indian words directly but from other European languages, Spanish in particular. In fact, as we previously saw, those

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[2] Weinreich had already referred to this idea concerning bilingualism in general. See Weinreich (1970: 44).

Indian loanwords started to be appreciated during and after the War of Secession under the label of Americanisms, which had been mainly applied to other American English innovations such as changes of meaning and compounds (Marckwardt 1980: 33). Consequently, it is ironical to see how some American scholars still insist on the idea of an early positive acceptance of Indian words by English settlers. But more surprising is to see how some of those American scholars have forgotten the important role played by the Spanish language on the reception of many Indian words for several European languages. Thus most Indian words entered English only after they had been *partially adapted* by Spanish or any other European language. As R. Bailey (1991: 60) points out:

> "One of the striking facts about the effect of exploration and colonialism on English is how the *late* start is mirrored in word borrowing. Many words were first borrowed, adapted, and used in *other* European languages and from those languages came into English."

On the whole, the English language was less receptive than Spanish to native words, a fact easy to understand when we take into account the later arrival and colonization of the New World by English settlers. Another reason was the absence of crossbreeding that equally had a great relevance for the future of the language on the continent. There is no doubt that the Spanish *conquistadores* subdued most of those Indians by force with the well-known tragic consequences, though all the European settlers traveled to America in a desire for taking some portion of land. So, opinions such as the following one expressed by Marckwardt (1980: 119) are beyond reality:

> "The Englishman, recognizing and envying the Indian's rapport with the wilderness, which to him was terrifying and mysterious, sought to learn the secret of that harmony. In the early borrowings of animal names like *muskrat* and *opossum* and *quahog* and *terrapin*[...], we see suggested the friendly if ambivalent relationship between the newcomers and the original inhabitants of the wilderness."

This alleged friendship between some English settlers with the Indians and between some Spanish settlers with the natives was mostly due to some individual or national interests of the European settlers. Perhaps this is why Marckwardt himself (1980: 124) needed to admit a few lines later that "the pious English were determined to save the Indian even if in so doing he had to destroy him."

It is striking to see how some American scholars underestimate the importance of the Spanish language when describing the linguistic influences present in American English, particularly as referred to Indian loanwords. Thus it is very common to find some lists of borrowings from other languages into American English, where Spanish comes last, after Dutch, French and German. In fact, Spanish was the most important source among the European languages for the introduction of Indian words into these

tongues, including the English language, as recently attested by some scholars such as Algeo.[3]

On the whole, Spanish accepted more Indian loanwords than English did. A good example is when the English Puritans preferred the English compound *Indian corn*, later reduced to *corn*, to the Spanish *maíz* from a Caribbean language, though this word had been temporarily borrowed in English as *maize* as early as 1555. As Bailey (1991) recalls, when in 1655 the English took over the Spanish dominion of Jamaica they equally started referring to the new reality by combining the adjective *Spanish* with a noun, such as: *Spanish carnation*, *Spanish elm*, *Spanish rosemary*, *Spanish arbourine* and the like.[4] Some linguists noticed the relevance of the Spanish language for the introduction of Indian words, as when Dohan (1974: 44) declared that:

> "Christopher Columbus had led the way for the adoption of American Indian words into European languages.[...] Latin American Indian tongues have supplied English with more than fifteen hundred words -about half again as many as those coming from North American Indian tongues north of Mexico-."

The American continent was highly fragmented into many different Indian tongues, but the most important influence on English as well as on Spanish came from the first languages encountered. On the English side, the two most important linguistic families are the Algonquian and the Iroquoian. The Algonquian group was composed by several tribes as the Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, Fox, Micmac, Ojibwa amd Penobscot. The Iroquoian confederation was made up of tribes such as the Cherokees and the Five Nations. Some Algonquian words that entered English before 1620 are *moose, raccoon, opossum, terrapin, persimmon, moccasin, tomahawk* and *totem,* but there are many others such as *hickory*, *hominy*, *moccasin*, *moose*, *persimmon*, *raccon*, *skunk*, etc.

However, many Indian words came into English through Spanish. The following words entered English through Spanish from Central and South American Indians, as compiled by Helen Dohan (1974) Arawakan words (*hurricane, cacique, canoe, hammock, potato, cannibal, iguana, savannah,* etc); Caribbean (*caiman, canoe, curare,* etc); Nahuatl (*cacao, chocolate, avocado, tomato, cocoa, enchilada, tamale,* etc); Tupian, through Spanish and Portuguese (*jaguar, piranha, cougar, macaw, toucan, cashew, manioc, tapioca);* Quechua (*condor, llama, puma, cocaine*).

As clearly proved by this brief list of some Indian loanwords, the importance of Spanish as the language of contact between English and Central- and South-American

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[3] Algeo points out in F. Rodríguez (1996: 13-40) the fact that "in the sixteenth century, Spanish loans in English increased dramatically. Of some 260 borrowings from Spanish during that century, 106 are still current."

[4] The author remembers that they were published by Hans Sloane in 1696. This linguist refers to the same idea when the English applied the same process to the Canadian and Australian new reality. Hence, we obtained *Canada goose* (1795), *Canadian bullock* (1764), *Canadian breed* (1774), *Canada jay* (1772) and *Australian fringed violet* (1819), *Australian hedgehog* (1827), *native bear* (1827) and so forth.

Indian words is beyond any doubt. Hence, Dohan (1974: 50) declares that "The North American Indian (north of Mexico) contribution of loanwords to English, rich though it is, does not approach the abundance of loanwords in English from Latin American Indian languages." This linguist (1974: 51-52) explains the reasons for it providing three different arguments: the rich *environment* in plants and animals of these areas, the advanced *civilization* of some of those Indian cultures such as the Aztec or Incan empires and the *cultural receptivity* of Spanish and Portuguese colonists who 'mingled more readily with Native American than did the Anglo-Saxons'. According to this author, this may be partly due to the fact that Spanish and Portuguese had been living for centuries alongside Moors, so it may have seemed 'more natural' to them.

However, this statement draws a subtle similarity between Arabs and Indians in contrast with Spaniards but the historical linguistic difference between both situations is important: Arabs conquered Spain and when they arrived in 711 they were a highly advanced civilization, much more advanced than the Spanish culture at that time, whereas Spanish colonized America and found less advanced cultures in terms of power.

On the whole, the most influential languages on Spanish were those first encountered by Columbus, the ones belonging to the group of the Arawakan. But after some time, the major influence came from the *lenguas generales* (*General languages* or *lingua franca* for communicating), used by missionaries for the religious conversion and spread of the Spanish language such as Nahuatl, Quechua and Tupi-guarani. The list of Indian words in Spanish may differ greatly depending on the variety of Spanish that we may take. The following ones have become widely spread in the Spanish language in general and may be recognized by most speakers. Among these words we may find Arawakan (*canoa, cayo,*[5] *iguana, guacamayo, comején)* and Taíno words, incuded within the Arawakan family (*huracán, sabana, barbacoa, hamaca, cacique, batatas, maíz, caoba,* etc); Caribbean words (*canibal, piragua, colibrí,*[6] etc); Cumanagotan (*butaca, guacayo, loro, mico);* other words related to the Caribbean or Arawakan languages, but with other several origins suggested (*tiburón, papaya, guayaba);* Nahuatl (*petate, tiza, chocolate, chicle, cuate, coyote, mapache, tomate, cacao, cacahuete, chile, aguacate, papalote*); Quechuan and Aymaran (*china, llama, vicuña, puma, papa, coca, cóndor, pampa*); Tupí-guaraní (*maraca, gaucho, jaguar, zarigüeya, cobaya, tucán, piraña*).

5.4.3. Contact between European languages in America

As we have seen, English adopted some Indian words through other European languages, mainly Spanish, but also through ***French*** as *caribou, bayou, sassafras, toboggan* and *totem*. Contacts between English and French people on the new continent took place from an early time. Henry Hudson found in 1609 some Indians

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[5] This word may be found in some American place-names, as in *Cayo Hueso*, the original denomination for what later came to be mispelled as Key West.

[6] Other references to this bird are very common in America such as *pájaro mosca, zumbador, picaflor, papamoscas or gorrión.*

who knew a small number of French words when he traveled along the North American coastline. The French settlers who were very interested in the fur trade established themselves along the Atlantic coastline and the St. Lawrence banks as well as along the Great lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. As a result, French came to be a source for direct borrowing, as attested by Marckwardt (1980) in the following words: plants and animals (*caribou, gopher, pumpkin)*; food (*praline*), toponyms (*Bayou, Coulee, Rapids, Sault*); exploration and travel (*bateau, voyageur, toboggan*); coinage (*cent, dime*); furniture (*bureau, depot*); miscellaneous (*apache, calumet*).

Some words belonging to ***Dutch*** entered the English language due to the Dutch settling on the New York area, then called New Amsterdam, as well as in other territories such as Pennsylvania. However, the Dutch influence on the English language did not take place until quite late, around the eighteenth century, once the Dutch presence in North America had been considerably reduced. These words were not related to Indian languages, in contrast with Spanish and French. According to Marckwardt (1980), some of them are: food (*cole slaw, cookie, waffle*); farm and building (*hay barrack*); social classification (boss, *patroon, Yankee*); miscellaneous (*dope, snoop, dumb, Santa Claus*).

Another European source for the enlargement of the American English vocabulary was ***German***. Although they were not present among the first travelers to America they became the first true immigrants to settle down in some parts of the American continent. Marckwardt (1980: 59) points out that Germans began to settle in Pennsylvania as early as 1683. Some of the German words that entered the American English are food and drink (*beer soup, blutwurst, delicatessen, hamburger, noodle*); education (*semester, seminar*); social (*Christmas tree, Stein*); miscellaneous (*bum, hex, loafer*).

6. Comparative lexical analysis of two semantic fields: place-names and crossbreeding vocabulary

6.1. Naming American Places in English and Spanish

American place-names reflect with great accuracy the history of the European settlement on America as can be seen by looking at a map pf America. Generally, all Europeans tended to give their own names to those places where they settled down, thus we may find many names of countries, states, cities, rivers, mountains, lakes and the like already existing in Spain, France and other European countries.

However, it has been sometimes stated by some American scholars (R. Mallery 1947: 96-97) that Spanish travelers did not care very much about native American names and were prone to replace them by others mostly related to their Catholic saints -e.g. Saint Augustine, San Francisco, San Juan-, whereas the English colonists tended to be more respectful with some of those Indian sounds, as proved by the current Indian names for many North American states. But the truth is that all Europeans manifested at first a great sense of ignorance towards those Indian place-names as well as towards their languages.

Indeed, there is no doubt that Spanish settlers named some of those places after their own saints and original cities or regions, ignoring Indian place-names. This fact is evident as clearly attested by the numerous examples such as *Nueva* + a Spanish city or town: *Nueva España, Nueva Granada.* But the same tendency was manifested by the rest of the Europeans who traveled to the West Indies. The North American coastline, where most of the English colonists were first located, was significantly (re)named by Captain John Smith as *New England*, thus ignoring other previous English attempts to name this area, such as John Milton who previously tried to baptize it as *Norumbega.* New York was previously known as *New Amsterdam,* a name unsurprisingly given by the Dutch former occupants. And even the Swedes tried to give the name of *New Sweden* to a territory alongside the Delaware river, later occupied by Dutch immigrants. Captain John Smith made significant attempts in order to keep some Indian place-names on the area where the former Englishmen settled down, but most of them were despicably rejected by Prince Charles of England after receiving a copy of Smith's map. Actually, Prince Charles replaced most of these names with 'a whimsical mix that honored himself and his family, or that simply took his fancy', as quoted by Bryson (1994: 11). Thus Prince Charles was responsible for the names *Cape Elizabeth, Cape Anne, the Charles River,* and *Plymouth.* In fact, Captain John Smith replaced himself *Powhatan* in Virginia by *Jamestown*, in honor of the English reigning king. The English settlers also substituted *Horicon* for *Lake George, Agiochook* for *White Mountains* or *Winooski* for the 'odorous and incongruous name of *Onion river*', a name criticized by De vere (1872: 14).

As in the case of the appreciation towards Indian words previously explained, Indian place-names were mostly valued during the eighteenth century, also for some political reason. Mallery (1947: 93) stated that "the romantic attitude towards Indian names was a late development."[1]

The consciousness manifested by the English colonists when re-naming America can be clearly proved by two facts: firstly, that most of the names referred to local places in England are concentrated along the east coast, where the first and permanent English settlements took place; secondly, massive migration to the west territories of North America, took place during the gold rush. *So El dorado* in Spanish and the *Gold rush* in English were clear determinants for expansion of the Europeans in America.

Consequently, it is not surprising to find *North and South Carolina* (for Charles I of England), *Georgia* (for George II of England), *Maryland* (for Queen Henrietta Marie), *Virginia* (for Queen Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen) as well as *New Hampshire* (for the English county Hampshire), *New Jersey* (for the island of Jersey, Channel Islands), *New York* (for James, Duke of York), *Rhode Island* (after the Mediterranean island), *Delaware* (for Lord de la Ware, Governor of Virginia in 1610), and the endless list of English cities and towns in New England (*Cambridge, Bristol, Coventry, Bradford, Bath, Boston, Gloucester, Manchester, Norwich*, etc). All these names are precisely located on this first American territory encountered by the Englishmen.

The French influence on American place-names can also be demonstrated with names such as *Vermont* (possibly from French *Les Monts Verts*), *Maine* (for the province of Maine in France), Louisiana (for Louis XIV), and other Indian names that entered English through French like *Illinois* (French form of the Indian *illini*, meaning 'men'), *Iowa* (French version for Sioux *ouaouiatonon* or 'tribe'), *Wisconsin* (French spelling *Ouisconsink* for Indian 'river'), *Alabama* (French *Alibamons* from Indian 'thicket-clearers'). Similarly, they used religious terms in order to name some territories: *St. Croix river* named by the explorer Jacques Cartier on the feast of the Holy Cross, *St. Joseph* and *St. Louis* -the later one named after Louis IX, the saint-king in Missouri.

Finally, Spanish influence can be clearly seen in names such as *Florida* (for 'Easter' or *Pascua Florida* by Ponce de Leon), *Colorado* (Spanish 'red'), *California* (an imaginary mythical island given by the Spaniards and taken from the Spanish book *Las Sergas de Esplandián*)[2], *Nevada* (Spanish 'snow-covered'), *Montana* (Spanish 'mountaineous' and named by English settlers) and *Arizona* (Spanish word

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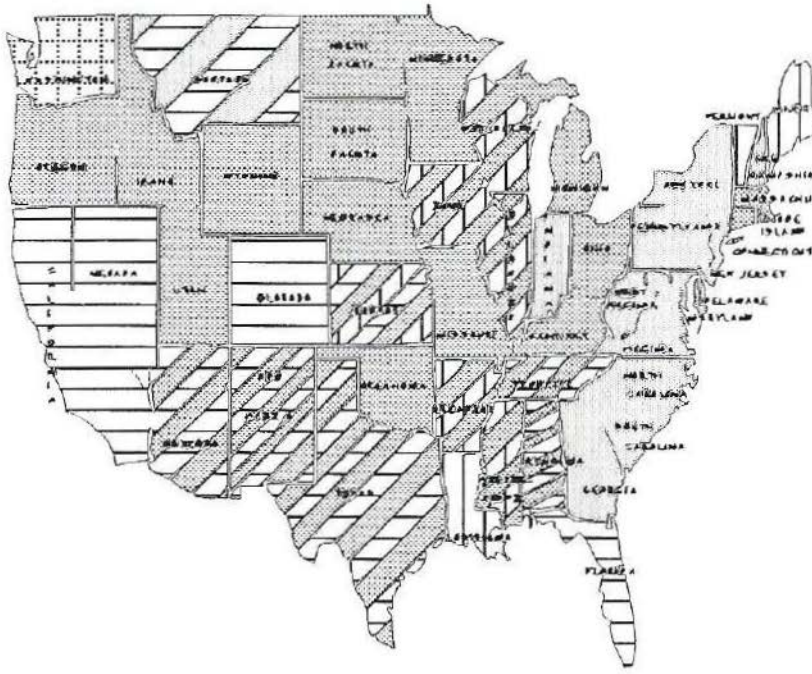
[1] Mallery alludes to the subjectivity of Anglo Saxon descendants for bestowing certain admiration on Indian names like *Susquehanna* or *Shenandoah* and making jokes about others, allegedly unpleasant, such as *Oshkosh, Kalamazoo, Hohokus* and the like.

[2] According to Jerry R. Craddock, this is a case of "literary transference". It seems that the source for
it may be found in Garci Ordóñez de Montalvo's *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1510). Further information in Craddock, J.R. (1996: 177-183) "Spanish place names in the United States.".

for 'little spring' from Papago). All this can be graphically depicted with the following map:[3]



Indian names (light grey)
Connecticut
Idaho
Kentucky
Massachusetts
Michigan
Montana
Minnesota
Missouri

Nebraska
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
South Dakota
Utah
Wyoming

-via Spanish-
Alabama
Arizona
New Mexico
Tennessee

-via English-
Texas

-via French-
Arkansas
Illinois
Iowa
Mississippi
Wisconsin

-via Fr. & Sp.-
Kansas

English names (dotted)
Delaware
Georgia
Indiana
Maryland
New Hampshire
Rhode Island
New Jersey
New York
South Carolina
North Carolina
Pennsylvania
Virginia
West Virginia

Spanish names (horizontal lines)
Nevada
California
Colorado
Florida

French Names (vertical lines)
Vermont
Maine
Louisiana

American Names (checked)
Washington

[3] The name *Alaska* is an Aleut word meaning 'mainland'. *Hawaii* is a Polynesian name. These names are neither Amerindian nor European, so they have not been included on the map.

The reference to many other European countries in the United States is well-known. Places from all Europe can be found on the map: Cadiz (Oh.), Bordeaux (S.C.), Corunna (Mich.), Hamburgh (S.C.), Leyden (Mass.), Lisbon (N.D.), Malaga (N.J.), Toledo (Oh.), etc.

Americans used some time later other sources in order to name their own places: famous people (Austin for Stephen F. Austin, Dallas for George M. Dallas, Houston for General Sam Houston), classical names (Babylon, Cartaghe, Castalia, Ithaca, Cincinatti, Hannibal, Pompey, Romulus, etc), religious names (Bethlehem, Jericho, Alma, etc), literary names (Byron, Guttenberg, Hawthorne, etc), corruptions from other names (Key West for Spanish *Cayo Hueso,* Des Moines for French *rivière des moines*, Sonora for Indian pronunciation of Spanish *señora*, etc).

On the Spanish side, the three most important sources in order to (re)name the new continent were the following: first, coining names after Spanish saints, as previously indicated (St. Augustine); secondly, giving the name of Spanish places (Madrid, Toledo); and finally, naming after famous Spanish people -governors, *conquistadores* and the like-. As Nazario (1982: 168) has pointed out on his study of the history of Spanish in Puerto Rico "la denominación de los lugares en el país, una vez realizada la conquista militar e iniciado el proceso civil de la colonización, habrá de derivar de las dos fuentes principales de lo español y lo indígena."

Consequently, names of saints on the continent are very abundant: Santiago, San Juan, San Pedro, San José, San Salvador, San Cristóbal, San Lorenzo. Some of those place-names were also combined with Indian words like Santiago de Daguao, Santa María de Guadianilla (from the Indian *Guaynia*), San Felipe de Arecibo or San Blas de Coamo (all of them in Puerto Rico).

Similarly, very frequent are the names of famous people like Sotomayor (from Don Cristóbal de Sotomayor) and also names that referred to Spanish towns and cities (Mérida, Guadalajara, Córdoba, etc), using 'Nueva' + a Spanish name (Nueva Galicia, Nueva Andalucía, Nueva Salamanca) or with a Spanish name + 'de Indias' as in Cartagena de Indias (in Colombia).

In fact, Indian words were usually replaced by Spanish names as in Baramaya by Portugués, Cayabón or Tanyabón by Espíritu Santo, Corigüex or Curigüez by Rosario, Susúa by Loco. However, some Indian names still remained, usually those which had been maintained during the first time of the colonization as Bieques, Sierra de Guabate, minas de Llagüello, salinas de Guamaní, Loíza, Bayamón (all of them in Puerto Rico), Quetzaltenango (Guat.), Tehuantepec (Mex.), Guayaquil (Ec.).

It may seem ironical that the greatest glory was not for Columbus, despite certain names such as Colombia, or even the Vikings who allegedly arrived first but for the Italian navigator Amerigo Vespucci whose name was used to name the New World.

6.2. Crossbreeding Vocabulary in English and Spanish

The importance of crossbreeding between Spanish settlers and American Indians is a recognized fact. This aspect of the Spanish colonization on the new continent together with the long criticized genocide represent two sides of the same coin. Both are closely interrelated and many different theories on both phenomena have been provided by famous historians. As often attested, Spanish women were not allowed

to travel to the New World during the first years of the conquest. Obviously, this paved the way for the mingling between the two different races. Hence the interesting description made by some scholars of early American Spanish as a father tongue` rather than a 'mother tongue` (*lengua paterna vs. lengua materna*) because of this considerable predominance of Spanish men among the first colonists.[4]

However, this crossbreeding between different people is not be only justified by this reason. Many other arguments have been supported by several linguists, such as the fact that Spaniards were readier than other European colonists to live with other races because of their previously recent history with the Arabs. Whatever reason is taken, it is clear that this extensive crossbreeding on the Spanish side determined the abundant and interesting creation of a social vocabulary for this semantic field. John Te Paske (1967: 4) writes that:

> "Unlike the English who pushed the Indian westward or the French who left him alone, virtually unsullied by all European institutions except liquor and the Christian religion, the Spanish ordered their society in such a way as to make the Indian a part of it."

On the whole, the readiness of Spaniards for living together with other races may not explain by itself the creation of so many new terms for this crossbreeding. Manuel Alvar (1987) in a very worthy study on this racial vocabulary points out that Spanish already had some few terms designating a mixing between two different races after the Arab dominion of the Iberian peninsula, but that it was uncomparable by large to the unparalleled phenomenon that took place on the American continent, where three different races came together for the first time and provided an excellent field of study on linguistic crossbreeding.[5]

The vocabulary related with crossbreeding varied considerably from region to region, as stated by M. Alvar, who cites as examples: *criollo rellolo*, *moreno* for negro, *ochavon* in Cuba, *indio* for mestizo in Santo Domingo, *ladino* for mestizo in Central America, *galfarro, grifo, limpio, postizo* in Southern America, *tentempié* in Argentina, *cuatralbo, guineo, quinterón, sacalengua, tresalbo* and the like in Mexico, etc. In general, those terms were coined after the world of the animals (*cabro, lobo, marabú*) and especially as related to the horse (*cambujo, castizo, cuatralbo, mulato, requinterón, tresalbo*).

Consequently, there is a good amount of examples for the previously described linguistic device of semantic change or change of meaning. These words referring to animals came to be applied to this crossbreeding and soon acquired a new sense on

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[4] The historian R. Levene (1947: 268) remembers that some laws were passed in the West Indies allowing some liberty for crossbreeding in the marriage. Thus "que nadie pueda impedir ni impida el matrimonio entre indios e indias con españoles o españolas, ni que tengan entera libertad de casarse con quien quisieren."

[5] We shall not forget the complexity of this phenomena if we consider that some of those black slaves came not directly from Guinea but from Spain, and then were called *ladinos*. F. Romero (1987: 87) states that "los negros traidos al Perú [ladinos] se expresaban con un español imperfecto porque no habían perdido su lengua madre."

the American continent. Some of those words were brought over from Spain to the West Indies as *cuarterón* but most of them appeared on the continent and were completely unknown until then to the Spanish language on the mainland, such as: *ahí te estás, notentiendo, puchuelo, tentenlaire, tornatrás* and so forth. Some of these new coins were modeled after some Indian languages, as for instance *jíbaro* (from Taino) *coyote* (from Nahuatl), *chino* (from Inca) or *cholo* (the child of a black woman and an Indian, from dog in Aimara) .

There was from very early an initial crossbreeding between Whites and Indians, presumably between a Spanish white man and an American Indian woman, but soon after those first contacts many others took place where Blacks participated equally on this mixing. Rosenblat recalls some of those coins as:

mestizo: Spanish with Indian woman; *lobo:* lobo with albino
castizo: mestizo with Spanish woman; *jíbaro:* lobo with Indian woman
español: castizo with Spanish woman; *sambayo:* sambayo with Indian woman
*mulata:*Spanish woman with Black man; *coyote:* coyote with Indian
morisco: Spanish man with mulatto woman; *sambaigo:* sambaigo with loba
*albino, chino:*Spanish man with morisco; *salta atrás:* chino with Indian woman
no te entiendo: alvarazado with coyote; *coyote mestizo:* coyote mestizo with mulatto.[6]

The vocabulary corresponding to this field was evidently less extense on the English side since this extensive crossbreeding did not take place, at least not at the same scale. Yet American English adopted some of those Spanish terms in order to refer to their own society. Thus M. De Vere (1872) provides the following examples:

from Spanish	*to*	*American English*
mulato	>	*mulatto* (mixed breed, black and white),
cuarteron	>	*quadroon* (offspring of mulatto and white man)
ochavon	>	*octaroon* (quadroon and white)
mestizo	>	*mustee or mustafina* (white and Indian)
criollo	>	*creole* (child of European parents born on America)
zambo	>	*sambo* (child of negro and mulatto or negro and Indian)
pequeñino (Sp/Por) *pequeño niño*	>	*pickaninny* (Spanish or Portuguese origin)

In the course of time English settlers also started coining their own terms such as *uncle* for an old black man, *auntie* for a woman, *mammy* or *mauma* or *maum* for the special nurse assigned to a child, etc.[7] But English-speaking Americans also used

[6] All these examples are taken from A. Rosenblat (1992: 69).

[7] The fact that black influence might be greater than usually recognized, especially in the case of some American regions, is clearly proved by the abundant presence of *mamies* at white American farms who raised white children. We might assume that there was here a conflict between the tendency of a child to pick up most of the linguistic features after the person who has raised him and the social tendency to repress those negatively-considered

their own language to make new compounds such as *half-breed* for the offspring of a white father and an Indian mother or *half-blood paleface* for a white person employed by the Indians or in imitation of them. Indeed, this linguistic device had already been applied in order to refer to some of those Blacks that arrived some time after the settlement, when the difference of origin made it necessary to call them *Guinea Negro, Congo Negro, Gambia Negro, Gullah Negro*. And a similar device was used in *Negro house, Negro hut, Negro quarters* and *Negro cabin*.

Important efforts have been made during the last decades in an attempt to rescue the early history of our languages on the American continent. Many studies on Indian languages have come to light along with some other less interesting and simplistic theories about the historical events that took place five hundred years ago on the *terra incognita*. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about black English, and if there is still much to be done about the studies on Indian languages and their encounters with the white men, the black contribution is still awakening from a long nightmare of conscious forgetfulness. Spaniards such as Las Casas did not prove to be very pious towards the Blacks at the time of the conquest. But similarly, an American scholar who wrote a very valuable study on American English in 1872 failed to recognize the important feat that the New World represented for all the three races. Thus De vere (1872: 115) expressed:

> "So far two facts only have been established which bear upon this question. One is, that the mulatto is invariably a decided improvement on one of his producers, and not all incapable of reaching the full stature of mental and moral manhood. The other is that while an infusion of white blood thus beyond all doubt intellectualizes the black, it brutalized the Red-man- a fact proven by the superiority of Brazil over other Spanish-American countries."

In conclusion, crossbreeding names are obviously more abundant in American Spanish than in American English. Many of these words were restricted to a certain dialect or area but some came to be very popular and were even sometimes used by famous playwrights on the old continent, such as Lope de Vega. English settlers used some of these Spanish words in order to refer to this varied crossbreeding, since it took place some time later on the English side.

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linguistic features. Unfortunately, we lack reliable information about the result for such a struggle between a natural linguistic tendency and a sociolinguistic-conditioned motivation, but as H. Dohan (1974: 186) points out: "In 1842, Charles Dickens wrote from the United States to his wife "All the women who have been bred in slave States speak more or less like Negroes, from having been constantly in their childhood with black nurses".

7. Conclusions

The English language underwent an earlier process of emancipation in America when compared to Spanish. This process of political as well as linguistic *self-awareness* was a result of the recognition by some speakers of their own linguistic *distinctiveness*. Furthermore, it led some American linguists to claim for their own linguistic independence and to start using, once *Americanisms* had been accepted, the label *American language*. The same trend was followed, although some time later and to a much smaller extent, by other Latin American scholars concerning their own linguistic variation/s.

However, none of these proposals for linguistic *independence* succeeded in time, but American English finally achieved an evident degree of distinctiveness, particularly in its written form, in comparison with the British variation. Thus *spelling* has traditionally been the mirror to look upon for most of these types of diverging proposals. As we have seen, some of these linguistic attitudes -politics, social identification, etc- have determined the labels applied to the different English and Spanish linguistic variations on both continents.

Similarly, I have tried to prove by providing several examples that the definition for the label *Americanism*, whose name is common to both languages, has considerably varied in the course of time. This diversity about its own definition depended to a great extent on the historical, social and political context. On the English side, Americanism was loosely applied in earlier times to English changes of meaning as opposed to the mother tongue, such as *creek*; but this notion changed some time later in order to include Indian loanwords, such as *racoon* and the like. On the Spanish side, Americanisms were initially called *Indigenismos* -America had not yet been such named-, in clear reference to Indian loanwords as used by earlier travelers and settlers, although the term *americanismo* has become nowadays very popular among many linguists.

As we have seen, Indianisms were early considered to be *barbarous* -sounds- and the same coin was to be applied later to the so-called English Americanisms: *barbarous* English. This attitude was mainly fostered by a political as well as linguistic wish for self-consciousness. Hence I explained how close this -religious, political, social- context was to the idea of the English and the Spanish languages.

Generally, English and Spanish settlers followed similar patterns in describing the new reality, but with some important differences. They tried to name things from their own previous experience since they were neither linguists nor poets. Thus the theory that attributes the origin of those misnames to their cultural and social ignorance -such as *robin*- should be totally disregarded. I provided some clear examples of their comparative intentions when attempting to name a new reality from their own prior experience. We have also seen the most important linguistic devices used to designate the new reality on both sides. Not surprisingly, the use of

compounds and semantic changes was paramount in the English language whereas Spanish made a greater use of derivation, particularly the so-recurrent diminutive-affixation *-armadillo, cimarrón,* etc-. Earlier English settlers tended to coin new terms by using their own English words instead of taking Indian loanwords -*maíz* and *corn* were good examples-. As a result, there was an English dependance on other European languages, particularly French and Spanish, for the acceptance of Indian sounds. Surprisingly, the important role played by Spanish here has been traditionally neglected in some American studies, which traditionally reduced their scope of Spanish influence on American English just to the *encomienda* culture and to the borders between the U.S. and Mexico.

Indian loanwords came to be fully appreciated and praised at the same time as the American feeling for independence was considerably growing. Thus some American scholars took several Indian loanwords as examples of American -English- *distinctiveness* as compared to their British mother tongue.

Spanish chroniclers and colonists made abundant use of Indian terms, although few entered in the course of time the international Spanish standard, i.e., most of them came to be only used within certain particular American regions and are now considered by some linguists as -American- *dialectalisms*.

Finally, two comparative cases were explained in order to demonstrate some of these social and linguistic similarities between both languages on America. On the one hand, place-names have been a traditional pool of linguistic discussion for those who have claimed a greater acceptance of English settlers towards Indian sounds as compared to Spanish. My intention was to prove that not only English and Spanish, but also all the rest of European settlers in general, followed the same patterns when attempting to name the places they occupied. Arguably, a greater use was made in the case of Spanish -and also French- of *religious* references, but the general tendency consisting in giving European names to the new territories was equally followed by all European nations, as is clearly proved by examples such as *'Nueva/New'* plus ' *Spanish/English* region' or names of saints, kings, queens, explorers and famous European people in general.

On the other hand, English was also influenced by Spanish through *crossbreeding* such as *quadroon, mulatto, negro* and the like. Several reasons have been provided for the greater amount of such terms in Spanish than in English. Some of them were based on historical racial bias about Northern and Southern Europeans; others have been historically conditioned such as the alleged prior experience of Spanish settlers about living together with other races, namely Arabs.

It was Aristotle's expression that an author never finishes the work, that s/he rather abandons it. And I have at this moment a similar feeling. Yet many words remain to be said concerning this issue. Thus, I hope it will be easier hereon for those who read this study to have a clear-cut idea about the social and historical origins or words such as *barbarous, vulgar* and the like when applied to a language.

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LANGUAGES OF DISCOVERY: A COMPARATIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

This book comments on several aspects related to the Discovery of America and its consequences for the development of English and Spanish. From a comparative perspective, the author offers an in-depth study of various sociolinguistic concepts on both sides: *Americanisms*, the *American* Language, *dialectalisms*, *vulgarisms*, etc. The second part of the book is dedicated to the study of word-formation in English and Spanish after the Discovery: *compounding, derivation, borrowing*. Finally, two semantic fields are described and compared in English and Spanish: *place-naming* and *crossbreeding*. *Languages of Discovery* has as its aim to correlate different linguistic aspects about American English and American Spanish from a historical comparative perspective.

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